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CONTENTS OF VOLUME THE THIRD

OF THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

PAGE.

I. On the Use of the Terms Acanthus, Acanthion, &c., in the Ancient Classics. By James Yates 1

II. Æschyli Supplices. Recensuit, emendavit, explanavit F. A. Paley. Cambridge, 1844. By the Rev. William Linwood 22

III. On the Geography of a Part of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks. By Professor Malden 36

IV. On the Existence of a Nation bearing the Name of *Seres* or of a Country called *Serica* or *Terra Serica*. By R. G. L. 43

V. A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by Dr. W. Smith. Vol. I. London, 1844. By Thomas Dyer 49

VI. Remarks on Professor Long's Paper on the Licinian Law *De Modo Agri*. By Professor Puchta 67

VII. On the Passage in Appian's *Civil Wars* (I. 8) which relates to the Licinian Law. By Professor Long ... 78

VIII. Notices of Recent Publications 108

1. Demosthenis de Falsa Legatione. By R. Shilleto. Cambridge, 1844. 8vo.
2. Revue de Philologie. No. I. Paris, 1845. 8vo.
3. Hesiodi Theogonia. Ed. D. J. Van Lennep. Amstelodami, 1843. 8vo.
4. Panofka, Griechinnen und Griechen, Berlin, 1844, folio; and Die Heilgötter der Griechen, Berlin, 1845, 4to.
5. Eschenburg, Manual of Classical Literature. Philadelphia, 1844. 8vo.

IX. On the Age of Babrius. By Professor Th. Bergk ... 115

X. Baalbec, Palmyra, and the Extreme North-Eastern Bounds of the Land assigned to the Israelites. By the Rev. W. Ewing 13

PAGE.

XI. Professor Voemel's Defence of the Genuineness of the Documents in Demosthenes's Speech on the Crown, against Professor Droysen. By F. W. Newman 157

XII. Ptolemy's Knowledge of Arabia. By Dr. W. Plate 176

XIII. The Antigone of Sophocles and the Foreign Quarterly Review. By Th. Dyer 176

XIV. The Asylum of Romulus. By Dr. Ihne 190

XV. Beckeri Topographia Urbis Romae. By Professor L. Urlichs 194

XVI. Miscellanies 203

1. Attempt at a translation of Greek Chorics. By J. Eccleston.
2. Remarks on a Passage in Niebuhr's Lectures. By F. W. N.
3. On the methods of Stating the Date of an Historical Event. By C. B.
4. On a Passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. By G. and C. C.
5. Remarks on the Origin of Tenses. By F. W. N.
6. Remarks on a Passage in the Funeral Oration of Pericles. By J. Price.

XVII. Literary Intelligence 213

1. Professor Schneidewin's Philologus.
2. A Memoir of Thomas Mitchell, Esq., A.M.

XVIII. Notices of Recent Publications 217

1. On the Origin and Ramifications of the English Language. By H. Welsford, Esq.
2. A Biographical History of Philosophy. By G. H. Lewes.
3. Characteristics of the Greek Philosophers Socrates and Plato. By the Rev. J. Ph. Potter.
4. Vitarum Scriptores Graeci. Edidit A. Westermann.

XIX. Lists of Recent Philological Publications 225

XX. On the Choral Dancing of the Greeks. By Thomas Dyer 229

XXI. The Quarterly Review and Greek Lexicons. By Professor Dunbar 245

XXII. On the Guardianship Accounts of Demosthenes. By J. Ch. Voemel 254

XXIII. Suburbs of the Levitical Cities. By the Rev. W. Ewing 264

XXIV. On a European Notation for extra European Sounds. By F. W. Newman 273

XXV. The Practice of Writing English in Classic Metres. By John Oxenford 279

PAGE.

XXVI. On Victorinus; a Contribution to the History of Roman Literature. By Dr. L. Lersch 284

XXVII. On the Latin Word *Immo* or *Imo*. By Professor Long 291

XXVIII. Comparative Etymology. By Dr. W. Smith ... 298

XXIX. Miscellanies 303

1. Attempt at a translation of Greek Chorics. By J. Eccleston.
2. On the word ἀλίαστος. By O. R.
3. Discovery of the Seven Missing Books of Galen's principal Anatomical Work. By W. A. G.

XXX. Notices of Recent Publications 308

1. Pindari Carmina ad fidem textus Böckhiani. Ed. G. G. Cookesley. Etonae, 1842 and 1844. Pindarica scripsit et edidit A. de Jongh. Utrecht, 1844.
2. A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church. By the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D.D. London, 1844.
3. The Epodes, Satires, and Epistles of Horace. Translated by the late Rev. Francis Howes. London, 1845.

XXXI. Lists of Recent Philological Publications 317

XXXII. On the Topography of Rome. With an Appendix on the Regionarii. By E. H. Bunbury ... 319

XXXIII. On the Pronunciation of Greek. By F. W. Newman 382

XXXIV. On the Leges Annales of the Romans. By C. Wex 405

XXXV. The Youth of Jason renewed by Medeia. (A Canino Vase.) By S. Birch 417

XXXVI. Ethnology and Philology. By R. G. L. ... 423

1. Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique. Tom. I. et II.
2. On the languages and dialects of Abyssinia and the countries of the South. By Dr. Beke.
3. Recherches sur les langues Celtiques. Par W. F. Edwards. Paris, 1845.
4. Introduction to a Grammar of the Language of Burmah. By Th. Latter. Calcutta, 1845.

XXXVII. Notices of Recent Publications 443

1. Mr. Lucas's Models of the Parthenon, and his Remarks on the Parthenon. London and Salisbury, 1845.
2. Aristophanis Acharnenses. Recensuit et interpretatus est F. H. Blaydes. London, 1845.
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PAGE.

und Englisch—von Prof. Welcker in Bonn. Part I. Berlin, 1845. Largest folio.

4. Select Lives of Plutarch. Translated by George Long. Series I. and II. Knight's Weekly Volume, Nos. XXVII. and LVIII.

XXXVIII. Lists of Recent Philological Publications 454

THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

I.

ON THE USE OF THE TERMS ACANTHUS, ACANTHION, &c., IN THE ANCIENT CLASSICS.

GREAT confusion exists among the writers of antiquity in the use of the allied terms, Ἄκανθος, Ἄκανθα, Ἀκάνθιον, *Lat.* Acanthus, Acanthium; and this confusion is multiplied tenfold by the critics and commentators, who have endeavoured to illustrate these terms by identifying them in the several instances where they occur, with plants known to the modern botanist. Nevertheless, I venture to pursue their steps, because some of the passages to be elucidated occur in the most favourite authors, and are, on other accounts, highly interesting and beautiful.

These names, agreeably to their etymology (AC, *a point*, and ANTH, *flower*), appear to have been given almost indiscriminately to any *spinous flower*, to any flowering plant which bore thorns or prickles. These may be conveniently reduced to five classes, each including plants which, though now accurately distinguished in botanical systems, have so many common properties that in ancient times they would all be comprised under the same denomination. I shall produce them according to their order in the Linnæan arrangement.

I.

THE GENUS ACANTHUS.—*Linn.* (Didynamia Angiospermia. *Nat. Order*, Personatæ.)

This is the plant known in pharmacy and in the gardens under the name *Brank-ursine.* It appears to be accurately

described by Dioscorides, III. c. 19, 20[1]. He distinguishes between the cultivated and the wild acanthus, the former of which is supposed to be Acanthus Mollis, *Linn.*, the latter Acanthus Spinosus, *Linn.*

To the cultivated kind Vitruvius evidently refers, under the name Acanthus, in the account which he gives of the invention of the Corinthian capital by Callimachus[2]. Any one may observe the exact identity of form in the leaves of the Acanthus Mollis and those of the Corinthian capital. He may remark the rich effect produced by the overlapping of the deeply divided segments, and the elegance with which the upper part of the leaf falls backwards. It is to be observed, however, that the works of the ancient sculptors and architects shew great varieties in the acanthus leaf, according as it is more or less sharp-pointed at the edges, more or less deeply divided into segments, according also to the degree of its curvature backwards, the degree of overlapping in the segments, and the general fulness and luxuriance of the whole leaf. All these varieties might probably be copied from the brank-ursine in different states of cultivation. In the annexed figure, Lobel (*Icones*, II. p. 2. *Antwerp* 1591) has represented it with an aspect very different from what it has in the richest candelabra and Corinthian capitals, but not unlike some of the varieties in ancient monuments.

Pliny, the naturalist, mentions the use of this plant in ornamental gardening[3]; and that it was highly esteemed for this

[1] He is supposed here to refer to the Linnæan genus Acanthus, by Saracenus, Matthioli, Sibthorp, Smith, Sprengel, Billerbeck, Schneider, Passow, and many others.

[2] L. IV. c. I. p. 92, 93, ed. Schneider.

[3] XXII. 34. s. 22.

purpose among the Romans, appears also from the younger Pliny's description of his Tuscan villa[4], where it was used in great abundance to adorn the parterres. Sir J. E. Smith thought (I apprehend, with great reason) that the Acanthus Mollis, *Linn.*, was only a cultivated and very luxuriant variety of the Acanthus Spinosus[5]. This fact, if admitted, may account for the praises which Pliny bestows on the acanthus of his garden, as "lubricus et flexuosus,"—"mollis et pene liquidus." If the plant was, by cultivation, gradually divested of its stiff and thorny character, it would be more admired, the more it became soft and smooth, spreading and flexible; and an enthusiast in rural decorations might easily perceive a similarity between its large glassy leaves and the curling waves of the sea. Nemesianus probably alludes to the same plant, when he represents a beautiful damsel plucking flowers in a garden, and filling her lap "with soft acanthus."

> Hanc, cum vicini flores in vallibus horti
> Carperet, et molli gremium compleret acantho,
> Invasere simul. Bucolica, Ecl. II. 4, 5.

The brank-ursine may probably be meant by Virgil (*Ecl.* IV. 20), where he mentions "the smiling acanthus" among favourite garden flowers; and to this herb, divested of its thorns by art and cultivation, Columella alludes, in an account of the varieties of the artichoke, which I shall have occasion to quote hereafter.

This plant was admired and imitated, not only by the architect, but also by the goldsmith, the brass-founder, the sculptor, and the painter. Diodorus Siculus[6] mentions "a golden acanthus" (χρυσοῦς ἄκανθος) as one of the ornaments of the magnificent chariot employed to transport the corpse of Alexander. The chariot was surrounded with a peristyle of golden pillars, and in the intervals between the pillars was the golden acanthus. Mys, a contemporary of Parrhasius at Athens, appears to have excelled in the minuteness and delicacy of the acanthus-leaves, which he wrought in gold and silver:—

> Et Myos exiguum flectit acanthus iter. Propert. III. 7.

The leaves of the acanthus often form the most elegant orna-

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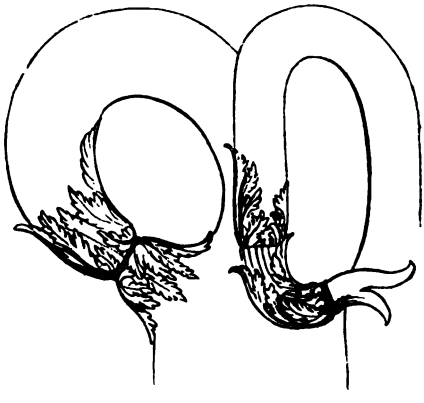
[4] v. Ep. 6.

[5] Rees's *Cyclop. Addenda*, art. Acanthus.

[6] Vol. II. p. 278, ed. Wesseling.

ment of the bronze lamps and candelabra of the ancients. In sculpture we have a familiar, and, at the same time, an exceedingly fine example in the Warwick vase, discovered among the ruins of Hadrian's villa, in which six magnificent acanthus-leaves radiate from the top of the shaft, and cover the bottom of the capacious vessel placed on it. In other instances the leaves stretch upwards, so as to cover nearly the whole body of the vase. Sometimes a circle is drawn round the vase, about the middle, especially when its shape is tall rather than flat; and in this case the part above the circle, *i. e.* the upper half, is decorated with acanthus-leaves. Occasionally also the band of acanthus-leaves surrounding the upper part of the vessel is so narrow, as to form a mere border beneath the margin. Another very elegant application of this leaf is seen in the handles, which are surrounded with acanthus, as shewn in the two different arrangements of it copied in the wood-cut from Piranesi's *Vasi e Candelabri Antichi.*



By attending to these varieties in the decoration of antique vases, as we actually see them in existing remains, we are enabled, I think, more clearly to comprehend some passages which I shall now quote, and which are loosely or incorrectly explained by the commentators.

Theocritus, describing a cup or bowl of Ætolian manufacture, first gives an account of the figures *within* it, and then says of the outside—

Παντᾶ δ' ἀμφὶ δέπας περιπέπταται ὑγρὸς ἄκανθος.

The pliant acanthus is expanded all around the cup. Idyll. I. 55.

The scholiast explains ἄκανθος thus: Εἶδος φυτοῦ ἀκανθῶδες χαμαίζηλον, εἰς μῆκος ἐξανθοῦν λίαν. This agrees with the plants of the present class, which are 'prickly;' they may be called 'low,' as the leaves rise immediately from the ground, and they "send out a tall spike of flowers."

In Virgil, *Ecl.* III. 45, Alcimedon makes two cups of beech-wood, and "surrounds the handles with soft acanthus:"

Et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho.

Virgil has here translated the above line of Theocritus, but deviates from his original so far as to express a different conception of the way in which the acanthus was applied. In Theocritus it covers the whole outside of the vessel; in Virgil only the handles. Both of these ideas we now see realized in the remains of ancient art; and as similar works must have been familiar to both these poets, there seems no reason to question the originality of their descriptions.

Ovid (*Met.* XIII. 682-701) describes a magnificent vase, the outside of which was covered with figures composing a mythological story. All this part was "of ancient brass" (antiquo ære), *i. e.* bronze. The poet adds,—

Summus inaurato crater erat asper acantho.

We are therefore to suppose a band of acanthus-leaves wrought in gold, and placed beneath the margin, so as to form a border round the top.

It may be remarked, that in all vases, as well as in the capitals of Corinthian pillars and other ornaments, the rib of the brank-ursine leaf is always placed perpendicularly, or in the direction of the axis of the object which it decorates, or radiating from that axis. This is agreeable to its natural position and mode of growth.

Beautiful examples of the *border* of brank-ursine leaves, used to form beads and mouldings in sarcophagi, altars, and other specimens of sculpture, may be seen in Piranesi.

In the paintings of the baths of Titus at Rome we often see the brank-ursine in the graceful arabesques, and in many instances combined with parts of animals. Two paintings, representing Apollo and Pomona, are especially deserving of remark[7]. In each the border of the square picture is formed of leaves of brank-ursine, which are so shaded as to seem moulded on a semicircular bead.

The brank-ursine was quite unfit for making crowns or wreaths to place upon the head; nor could much use be made of it for the garlands, which were hung in front of temples, or used on other festive occasions. Nevertheless, among Sir T. Lawrence's collection of architectural casts in the British Mu-

[7] *Description des Bains de Titus*, Pl. 20, 21.

seum, we see a representation of a large festoon of this kind, in which brank-ursine leaves are used to encompass the two extremities of the festoon, by which it is suspended. This may explain the design of the damsel in the verses above quoted from Nemesianus, who represents her gathering 'soft acanthus' together with garden flowers. I have described another very beautiful example of such a festoon in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, article SERTA.

II.

THE GENUS SPARTIUM.—*Linn.* (Diadelphia Decandria. *Nat. Order*, Papilionaceæ.)

Several species of the genus Spartium are armed with thorns and prickles. Spartium Spinosum, S. Villosum, S. Horridum, belong to this class. They have a strong general resemblance; so that they might doubtless be included under the same denomination, and they are all common in Spain, Italy, Greece, and the Archipelago. I shall endeavour to shew that these plants were known to the ancients under the name Acanthus, and hereby to throw some light upon passages which have hitherto been misapplied to the brank-ursine.

In the *Lexeis Atticæ* of Mœris, we find it expressly stated, that the same plants, which in the Attic Greek were called *Ἀσπάλαθοι*, were called in common Greek *Ἄκανθαι*.

Ἀσπάλαθοι, Ἀττικῶς· ἄκανθαι, Ἑλληνίκως[8].

But it is generally agreed among classical botanists, that the *Ἀσπάλαθος* of the ancients is the Spartium Villosum of Linnæus, a specimen of which, preserved in Sir J. E. Smith's Herbarium, is exhibited in the annexed lithograph. Dr. Sibthorp found this species everywhere in Greece and in the isles of the Archipelago, where it still bears nearly the same name, being called *Σπάλαθος*, *Ἀσπάλατος*, or *Ἀσπαλαθεία*[9]. Sprengel supposes the term to include Spartium Horridum also[10].

We first find the term *Ἀσπάλαθος* in Plato *De Republicâ*[11]. Giving an account of the torments of the wicked in another state, as conceived by a native of Pamphylia, he describes some of the sufferers, who, having had their hands and feet

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[8] P. 20, ed. Fischer.

[9] Walpole, *Memoirs on Eur. and As. Turkey*. p. 251, and Sibthorp's *Flora Græca*.

[10] See his German translation of Theophrastus, Vol. II. p. 359.

[11] x. p. 505, ed. Bekker.

bound, are flayed, and then dragged over *Ἀσπάλαθοι*, so as to be scratched by the spines. Theocritus mentions *Ἀσπάλαθος* in two passages[12], and in such a manner as to show that it was a common spinous shrub, used for fire-wood. The scholiast, on the former of the two passages, says, it is a kind of thorn (*εἶδος ἄκανθης*). An author quoted by Athenæus[13] introduces "the *tender* aspalathus" (*ἅπαλας ἀσπαλάθους*) among those plants which were admired as beautiful, and were used in composing wreaths and garlands.

Theophrastus[14], Dioscorides, and Pliny mention the use of aspalathus as a perfume in preparing ointments. The plant thus referred to, however, was not the aspalathus of Greece. Indeed it is doubted whether it belonged to the genus Spartium at all, as Pliny says it had a rose flower (flore rosæ). Dioscorides[15] expressly states the distinction between the common aspalathus of the Greeks, and the aspalathus which was used in perfumery, which grew in Rhodes and Syria, and which some good judges suppose to be Convolvulus Scoparius. As the one of these shrubs bore a striking resemblance in form and appearance to the other, the Convolvulus Scoparius having "the habit of a broom," the Greeks, as we may reasonably presume, transferred the name of the common and familiar shrub to the more valuable foreign production. We find the latter distinguished as the *fragrant* or *aromatic* aspalathus[16]. The identification of the *aromatic* aspalathus of the ancients may be attended with difficulty, for want of a more accurate knowledge than we possess of the botany of the Levant; but still it may be regarded as certain, that the thorny or prickly kinds of broom were the shrubs to which that name was given

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[12] *Idyll.* IV. 57 and XXIV. 87.

[13] XV. p. 685, Casaubon.

[14] *Hist. Plant.* IX. 7, and *De Odor.*

[15] *Ἀσπάλαθος οἷδε ἐρυσίσκηπτρον, θάμνος ἐστὶ ξυλῶδης, ἄκανθας πολλὰς κεκτημένος, γεννώμενος ἐν Ἴστρῳ, καὶ Νισούρῳ, καὶ Συρίᾳ, καὶ Ρόδῳ, ὧ χρῶνται οἱ μυρεψοὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν μυρῶν στυψεῖς, ἐστὶ δὲ καλὸς ὁ βαρὺς, καὶ μετὰ τὸ περιφλοισθῆναι ὑπέρυθρος ἢ πορφυρίζων, πυκνὸς, εὐώδης, πικρίζων ἐν τῇ γευσεῖ· ἐστὶ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον εἶδος αὐτοῦ, λευκὸν, ξυλῶδες, ἄνοσμον, ὃ δὴ καὶ χεῖρον καθέστηκε.*—Dioscor. I. 19.

[16] Schneider on *Theophrastus, H. Plant.* IX. 7, Vol. III. p. 738, and Sprengel's *Translation*, Vol. II. p. 358—360.

The reader may consult Thunberg *De Aspalatho*, and the recent French translation of Pliny by M. Sardaigne, who supposes the fragrant wood of the aspalathus to be the drug called Lignum Rhodium. This is now believed to be the wood of Convolvulus Scoparius, and Pliny's expression 'flore rosæ' would not be very ill applied to a Convolvulus, as contrasted with a Spartium.

in its common application. Pliny's account of the aspalathus[17] agrees in general with that of Dioscorides. But in addition to what we find in Dioscorides he says, "Per Hispanias quidem multi et inter odores, et ad unguenta utuntur illâ, aspalathum vocantes." It may be remarked, that *Aspalathus* may be a modification of *Spartus*, just as the modern Spanish *Espuela* is a modification of the Teutonic *Spur*. The same prolongation of the consonantal into a more vocal form, with the common change of R into L, would convert Σπάρτος into Ἀσπάλατος, and would be agreeable to the genius of the modern, perhaps also of the ancient, language of Spain.

The different species of broom (including the modern genera Spartium, Cytisus, Genista), and more particularly those species which are without thorns, were designated by the name Σπάρτος, or Spartus, which is properly Greek, and by *Genesta*, or *Genista*, which is Latin, and is retained in the modern Italian. Of these shrubs we find it frequently stated, by both ancient and modern authors, that their tough and flexible twigs were used for tying vines, and similar purposes, and that their honeyed and fragrant flowers were acceptable to bees, on which account they were planted near bee-hives. They were used for hedges, and we may presume that for this purpose the prickly kinds were preferred: and they were employed in making festoons and garlands[18].

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[17] L. XII. c. 24, and L. XXIV. c. 13.

[18] Aristot. Hist. Anim. IX. 40. Dioscor. IV. 139. Plin. XVI. 37. XXIV. 9, (Genista quoque vinculi usum præstat. Flores apibus gratissimi). XI. 8, (In Hispaniâ multa in spartariis mella herbam eam sapiant). XX. 12 (Genistas circumseri alveariis gratissimum). XXI. 9, (The flowers used for garlands, 'coronæ'). Columella, IV. 31, (Genistæ, cum sit satis firmum, tum etiam lentissimum est vinculum). IX. 4, (He here says, the honey derived from Spartus and Arbutus was thought very bad). Martial I. 44, I. 100, V. 5, (Et pira, quæ lentâ pendent religata genistâ). Virgil, Georg. II. 12, (Molle siler, lentæque genistæ). II. 434,

(Salices, humilesque genistæ,
Aut illæ pecori frondem, aut pastoribus umbram
Sufficiunt, sepemque satis, et pabula melli.)

Sibthorp mentions (Fl. Gr. *Spartium Junceum*), that the twigs of the Spanish Broom are still used for tying vines. Martyn, on Virg. Georg. II. 12, says, "The Italians weave baskets of its slender branches. The flowers are very sweet, last long, and are agreeable to bees." Castor Durante (*Herbario Nuovo*, Venet. 1684, folio) and Matthioli (in *Dioscor.* IV. 152), in an account of some species of broom, which they distinguish from the Spanish Broom, and one of which, called Genestrella, is prickly, inform us, that, in some parts of Italy, these shrubs cover whole mountains, which, in May and June, are so universally adorned with their beautiful and brilliant blossoms, that, at a distance, they look as if they were of gold, and present a grand and delightful spectacle to the traveller. These authors also state,

I shall now produce those passages, in which, as it appears to me, the word acanthus may be best interpreted of the spinous kinds of broom. It will be observed, that all these passages occur in the Latin poets: and I apprehend, that we ought to consider this application of the term as poetical. In prose, the same shrub would have been called *Genista*.

Virgil, *Georg.* IV. 123—"Flexi vimen acanthi." This expression occurs in the enumeration of plants, which employ the cares of the gardener. Soon after, in the same poem (l. 137), the aged Corycian, dwelling near the Galesus in Calabria, shears the foliage of his soft acanthus for the benefit of his bees.

Ille comam mollis jam tum tondebat acanthi.

Most of the commentators suppose the Acanthus in these passages to be the brank-ursine[19]. But the term *Vimen* is quite inapplicable to this plant, and the notion of shearing its beautiful leaves, on which, when fully developed and uninjured, its elegance depends, cannot for a moment be entertained. Indeed, Heinsius, Voss, and Heyne, have in the last passage rejected "acanthi," and substituted "*hyacinthi*," which is found in some of the best MSS. But who does not see that hyacinths are even less adapted to form a hedge than brank-ursine, and that no gardener would think of shearing either the one or the other?

That most tasteful and accomplished botanist, the late Sir James Edward Smith, perceiving these difficulties, conjectured that Virgil meant to speak of the holly (Ilex Aquifolium, *Linn.*)[20]; and Ciofani long ago advanced the supposition, originating with himself, and supported by the opinion of many of his learned neighbours in the country of Virgil himself, that the poet meant to speak of the Smilax Aspera, an evergreen

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that the kinds of broom alluded to are set near bee-hives, as bees delight in their flowers; that their branches are used, instead of willows, for tying vines; and that they are macerated like hemp, and made into ropes and sack-cloth.

My friend, Professor Hosking, informs me, that the vicinity of Selinus, on the south coast of Sicily, is so completely overrun with the Genestrella, that the odour of the bloom, in the early spring, is quite overpowering. The honey of that district is, nevertheless, almost offensively flavoured with *thyme*.

[19] Martyn on *Georg.* IV. 123; Heyne and J. H. Voss on *Eclog.* III. 45; Fée, *Flore de Virgile*, p. 10; Sprengel in Ersch. u. Gruber's *Encycl.* v. Acanthus, and in his *Hist. Rei Herb.* Vol. I. p. 145.

[20] Consid. respecting Cambridge, &c., and Rees's Cyclop. Addenda *art.* Acanthus.

plant with red berries, which is very common about Rome, and which climbs over trees and hedges, hanging by its tendrils[21]. To these interpretations it may be objected, that, although both of the plants specified are thorny, we have no proof that the name 'Acanthus' was ever given them; nor do their properties suit the passages to which they are applied. We can see no reason why a man should shear the rampant Smilax; nor could either of these plants be called 'mollis,' or be used advantageously for tying vines. On the other hand, the epithet 'mollis' might be applied to the thorny kinds of broom, on account of the downy hairs with which they are invested[22]. In reference to this distinction we find the Bucolic poet Calpurnius using the phrase 'hirsuta genista.'

Nothing seems better adapted for making a garden-hedge than the prickly kinds of broom. Even the Spartium Scorpius, the Σκορπιὸς of Theophrastus, which resembles our Gorse (Ulex Europæus, *Linn.*), would not be ill-suited to this purpose. But the other kinds, which I have mentioned, would be far more agreeable to the eye. Their twiggy branches, which are extremely tough as well as flexible, agree exactly with the description "Flexi vimen acanthi," and would be useful for tying vines. That these gay and fragrant shrubs were preferred to be set near bee-hives we know, and shearing would be necessary to make them into a good close hedge.

In the *Eclogues* of Calpurnius (IV. 58), we find the following sentence: "Tityrum cantantem rutilo spargebat acantho Nais." The bright yellow flowers of the spinous broom might properly in poetry be called 'rutili;' but the epithet seems quite inapplicable to the flowers of brank-ursine, which are white; nor could any other plant, which grew in Italy, and was called acanthus, be employed to weave a garland, or to shower in any sportive manner upon the head of a musician.

Here perhaps we may, with the greatest propriety, introduce those passages of the Æneid (I. 649. 711), which mention a veil ornamented with a border of acanthus.

"Circumtextum croceo velamen acantho."
"Pictum croceo velamen acantho."

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[21] Ciofani, Obs. in Ovidii *Met.* XIII. 701.

[22] Savi, in his description of Spartium Villosum, says, "Ramis junioribus tomentosis, calycibus leguminibusque villosis."—*Botanicon Etruscum*, T. I. p. 171.

So applied, Hesychius understands acanthus to mean the *border* of a piece of cloth, Ἄκανθος, περίραμμα ὑφασμένον. The epithet 'croceus' might refer to the yellow flowers, for which the thorny species of broom are conspicuous; and it is not unlikely that this colour was imitated in the border. Nothing seems better adapted to such a purpose than the slender rods of the shrubs I have indicated, with their bright flowers and neat lanceolate or trifid leaves; and this view seems to be confirmed by the fact, that such borders were also called ῥάβδοι, or rods, and κάλαμοι, or reeds, because, when they were simple stripes without leaves or flowers, they were most aptly described by those terms[23]. Böttiger, in his ingenious essay on the Arabesques of the Etruscan vases[24], supposes all the ornamental borders, however various, to have been called 'acanthi,' because originally they were imitations of the brank-ursine leaf. But, if there is reason to believe that the elegant and spinous kinds of broom were copied in such borders, we perceive that the term 'acanthus' was applicable to them in a more direct sense. Of the way, in which branches of Spartium would be represented in the borders of garments, we may judge from the way, in which they are represented in the wood engravings of the older botanical writers, as Lobel, Durante, and Matthioli. The annexed figure of "Genistella aculeata" is from Lobel, *Icon.* Tom. II. p. 93. This may be compared with the borders of garments as shewn on fictile vases.

The comment of Servius on this expression of Virgil confirms the interpretation which I have proposed. "ACANTHO: Genus virgulti flexuosum, quod vulgo herbacanthum[25]; id est, flexibile virgultum, dicunt: in cujus imitationem arte vestis ornatur."

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[23] Brunck, *Analecta*, I. 483. (χρύσεοι οἱ κάλαμοι). "Virgas illas, quæ in circuitum vestis eunt, ad oram infimam currentes, πορφύρας ῥάβδους καὶ ἀκάνθους appellarunt. Hinc intelligitur illud Virgilii, Æn. I. 653. Acanthus enim ibi est purpura, quæ circuit extremam vestis oram." Salmasius in Vopisci Aurelian. T. II. H. A. p. 571.

[24] *Griech. Vasen-Gemälde*, Vol. I. p. 80.

[25] Instead of *Herbacanthum*, I would propose *Herpacanthum* (i. e. ἑρπάκανθον) as the true reading.

'*Virgultum flexuosum*,' or '*flexibile*,' meaning *a twiggy pliant shrub*, tallies exactly with the broom, but not at all with the brank-ursine, nor indeed with any other kind of tree or plant, to which the term acanthus is known to have been applied.

Statius, describing the admirable shawl used as a winding-sheet to enwrap the body of the young Archemorus, says,

> "Medio Linus intertextus acantho,
> Letiferique canes."

The death of Linus was represented "in the midst of the acanthus," by which some critics have understood that the boy was made lying among leaves or plants of brank-ursine, while others have supposed that a border of those leaves surrounded the web. If, however, I am right in the preceding remarks, the idea of the poet may have been, that the winding-sheet was ornamented with a border of some spinous broom. The following passage of the same author may be explained in like manner:—

> "Hic tibi Sidonio celsum pulvinar acantho
> Texitur." Statii *Sylv.* III. 1. 37.

Barthius explains *Sidonio* to mean *purpureo*, in which he is, I conceive, correct.

The author of the poem *De Phœnice*, ascribed to Lactantius, and published by Barthius with Claudian, enumerates all the fragrant vegetable substances, which were most valued in the East, and among them "Olentis vimen acanthi." The phrase admits of the best explanation, by supposing the writer to have had in his mind the accounts of the aspalathus, which have been above referred to (p. 7), and to have meant the aromatic aspalathus of the Levant.

The idea of brank-ursine, which has run away with nearly all the commentators on Virgil and the classics, has also misled a few theologians, setting them at variance upon one interesting point of sacred history both with all the painters and with the great mass of Christians. The learned Bishop Pearce conjectures, that the Στέφανος ἐξ ἀκάνθων, or ἀκάνθινος, mentioned Matt. XXVII. 29, and in the parallel passages, and translated "a crown of thorns," was of brank-ursine. "I find," says he (commentary on Matt. XXVII. 29), "nothing in the New Testament said concerning this crown, which Pilate's soldiers put on the head of Jesus, to incline one to

think that it was made of thorns, and intended (as is usually supposed) to put him to pain. The reed put into his hand, and the scarlet robe on his back, were only meant as marks of mockery and contempt. One may also judge by the soldiers being said to *plat* this crown, that it was not composed of such twigs and leaves as were of a *thorny* nature." He further argues from the silence of the Fathers before Tertullian, but adds, "As this is a point in which we have not sufficient evidence, I leave it almost in the same state of uncertainty in which I found it." His conjecture is noticed with some approbation by Kenrick[26], Cappe[27], and Belsham[28].

Notwithstanding my respect for the authority both of Bishop Pearce and of those who have countenanced his conjecture, it appears to me that none more baseless was ever advanced. Every one, who knows and considers what kind of plant brankursine is, will admit, that it was as impossible to plat it into a crown, as to make a wreath of the leaves of the lettuce, the cabbage, or the artichoke. On the other hand, no plant can better suit the circumstances than such a one as the Spartium Villosum; or still more probably it might be the Rhamnus, which, as Rauwolff states, "doth not only grow without but also within the town of Jerusalem plentifully," and "puts out early in the spring into long, thin, and pliable twigs, with a great many long and strong prickles[29]." The more common opinion is, that it was the *Paliurus Aculeatus*, or *Christ's Thorn*, a shrub very nearly allied to the Rhamnus, which, like it, abounds in Judæa, and has pliable branches armed with sharp spines[30]. But, whatever might be the thorny plant employed for this cruel purpose, at Easter, when the crucifixion took place, it would probably be destitute of flowers and leaves, so as to correspond with the appearance exhibited by the painters.

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[26] *Exposition of the Hist. Writings of the N. T.* Vol. II. p. 577.

[27] *Life of Christ*, p. 502.

[28] *Improved Version of the N. T.* Note on John XIX. 2.

[29] Ray's *Coll. of Travels*, Vol. I. p. 319. On this subject I refer also to E.F.K. Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, 4. 1. p. 194. The Rhamnus, mentioned by Rauwolff, is the R. Spina-Christi, *Linn.*, the Zizyphus Spina-Christi, *Willdenow*.

[30] Lady Calcott's *Scripture Herbal*, p. 483—486. See also T. Bartholinus *De Cruce*, c. III.; Jo. Christoph. Wolfius, *Comm. in Matt.* XXVII. 29, &c.; Loudon's *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, Vol. II. p. 526—528.

III.

GENERA CARDUUS, CARTHAMUS, ECHINOPS, ONOPORDUM.—*Linn.* (Syngenesia Æqualis. *Nat. Order*, Compositæ.)

The above genera may all be considered as represented by the various kinds of *thistles*. Some of them are certainly meant in the following passages.

Aratus (l. 921) mentions, among the signs of wind, the flying about of the *πάπποι*, or down of the *Λευκὴ Ἀκάνθη*, the same, probably, which is mentioned under that name by Dioscorides[30]. Theocritus mentions the down of the thistle much in the same way—

ὡς ἀπ' ἀκάνθας
Ταὶ καπυραὶ χαῖται, τὸ καλὸν θέρος ἀνέκα φρύττει.

Idyll. VI. 15.

The scholiast explains *ἄκανθαι* to mean *κινάρα*, which he might do, as *κινάρα*, something of the cardoon or artichoke kind, was nearly allied to the thistle. He explains *χαῖται* to be *οἱ πάπποι τῆς κινάρας*, "the down of the thistle." In another passage (I. 132) Theocritus speaks of *ἄκανθαι καὶ βάτοι* as despised and useless plants, meaning, I presume, "thistles and briars." Antiphanes[31] compares envious critics to grubs crawling over *ἄκανθαι, σῆτες ἀκανθόβαται*. We may suppose him to have had in view common thistles, plants which were generally despised, being neither useful nor beautiful.

It might be impossible, it would certainly not be very interesting, to identify the kinds of thistles in ancient authors by comparing them with the genera and species of modern botanical systems. The following statements may suffice:

Ἄκανθα κεάνωθος, Theophrasti *Hist. Pl.* IV. 11, supposed to be Carduus Arvensis, *Smith; i.e.* Serratula Arvensis, *Linn.*[32] This is the common thistle of our fields and hedges.

Ἄκανθα ἀγρία of Dioscorides is supposed to be Carduus Syriacus[33].

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[30] III. c. 14, quoted below.

The down of the *ἀκάνθη* (*πάππος ἀπ' ἀκάνθης*) is mentioned in Athenæus, X. § 71, p. 997. Vol. II. ed. Dindorf.

[31] Brunck, *Anal.* II. 205.

[32] Sprengel, *Hist. R. Herbariæ*, Vol. I. p. 101, and his *Translation of Theophrastus*, Vol. II. p. 175. Billerbeck *Fl. Classica*, p. 207.

[33] Sprengel in Ersch u. Gruber, v. Acanthus, p. 245. Sibthorp. Billerbeck, p. 208. Card. Syriacus is No. 48 in Rees's *Cyclop.* art. *Carduus*.

Ἄκανθα λεύκη of Dioscorides (III. 14) is supposed to be Carthamus Canescens, No. 18, article *Carthamus* in Rees's Cyclopædia, which is Cnicus Acarna, *Linn.*[34]; or Echinops Lanuginosus, according to a conjecture of Sibthorp[35].

Ἄκανθα Ἀραβικὴ of Dioscorides, (III. 15) is supposed to be Onopordum Arabicum[36].

Ἀκάνθιον of Dioscorides (III. 18) is supposed to be Onopordum Acanthium, figured in Eng. Botany, tab. 977, and Curtis's *Flora Londinensis*, tab. 57; or, as Sibthorp conjectures, Onopordum Illyricum[37].

Λευκάκανθα, Theoph. *Hist. Pl.* VI. 4; Dioscor. III. 19; Plinii *Hist. Nat.* XXI. 16, s. 56; XXII. 18, s. 15, is supposed to be Cnicus Casabonæ, or Carduus Tuberosus, *Linn.* (Cirsium Tuberosum[38].)

Under this head may be brought the account of the "Acanthine cloths," *vestimenta acanthina*, which are mentioned by several ancient authors.

In modern times the practice has prevailed of spinning the thread of flax, or other ordinary materials, with an intermixture of the down, which envelopes the seeds of certain European plants of the genera Asclepias and Apocynum, which is of too short a staple to be spun alone, but which, being intertwined with common yarn or thread, and used for the woof, makes the cloth thick, warm, and rich, and gives it a glossy lustre. There can be no doubt that the down of some of the Syngenesian plants, which have been just enumerated, would answer the same purpose; and this application of them seems to be indicated by the terms employed by the authors who make mention of "acanthine cloths," except that the greater number of them seem to speak not of the down attached to the seeds, but of that which covered the leaves or flowering heads. The following is the account given by Dioscorides (III. 18), the word ἐσθῆς being here supplied from conjecture. It occurs, as before observed, in the account which he gives of a species of Onopordum:—

Ἀκάνθιον ἐμφερῆ τὰ φύλλα ἔχει τῇ λευκῇ ἀκάνθῃ, ἐπ' ἀκρῷ δὲ ἀκανθωδεῖς ἐξοχάς, κάθ' ἃς ἀραχνοειδής ἐστι χνοῦς, οὗ συλλε-

[34] Billerbeck, p. 208.
[35] *Ibid.* p. 223.
[36] *Ibid.* p. 209.
[37] Billerbeck, p. 208. Sprengel, *Hist. R. Herb.* p. 186. Also see below.
[38] Sprengel, *Hist. R. Herb.* I. p. 186, and *Translation of Theophrastus*, Vol. II. p. 230.

γομένου καὶ ὑπεντιθεμένου, βαμβακοειδὴς ἐσθῆς γίνεται,—*i.e.* "The Acanthium has leaves like the White Acantha; but on its extremity it has prickly projections, on which is a down like a spider's web. By collecting and inserting this down, cloth is made, which resembles silk."

To this passage of Dioscorides the following corresponds in Pliny (XXIV. 12. s. 66); both of these authors having probably derived their information from a common Greek source.

"Huic similis est spina illa, quam Græci Acanthion vocant, minoribus multo foliis, aculeatis per extremitates et araneosâ lanugine obductis: quâ collectâ, etiam vestes quædam bombycinis similes fiunt in Oriente."

Posidonius, as quoted by Strabo (III. 175, vol. I. p. 468, ed. Siebenkees) says, that "about New Carthage a tree emits from its thorns a bark, or fibrous tissue (φλοιόν), from which most beautiful webs were made;" and on this Strabo remarks, that "the acanthine cloths (τὰ ἀκάνθινα) were woven also in Cappadocia," but that "the thorns producing the bark were not the growth of a tree, but of a plant of low growth."

Lastly, Varro (as quoted by Servius on Virgil, *Æn.* I. 649), after citing the testimony of Ctesias respecting trees bearing wool in India, says, "Item Epicadus in Siciliâ, quarum floribus cum dempti sunt aculei, ex his implicitis mulieres multiplicem confecere vestem. Hinc vestimenta acanthina appellata." Epicadus may be supposed to have written about 70 B.C. This account seems to refer to the down attached to the seeds, and not to that which covers the leaves: and the term *impliciti* seems equally adapted with the expression ὑπεντιθεμένου in Dioscorides to denote the supposed method of intertwining this down with other materials, which were spun into thread.

IV.

GENERA SCOLYMUS AND CYNARA.—*Linn.* (Syngenesia Polygamia Æqualis. *Nat. Order*, Compositæ.)

These two nearly allied genera constitute a class of plants, which we may consider as represented by the cardoon and artichoke of our gardens. Several species grow wild, or are cultivated for food and partly for ornament, in Spain, the South of France, Italy, and Greece. The Scolymus Hispanicus, or Perennial Golden Thistle, is a native of the South of Europe,

and is supposed by Sibthorp, who found it very common in Greece, to be the Σκόλυμος of Dioscorides, being still called by the same name variously corrupted[39]. The roots, which abound with an agreeable milky juice, and the young leaves are eaten. Another species, Scolymus Maculatus, was observed by Dr. Sibthorp among the economical plants of Greece. It is called, in modern Greek, ἀσκόλυμβρο. The young leaves are eaten as a salad[40].

The Cynara Scolymus, or common artichoke, is also a native of the South of Europe. The bottom of the scales and the receptacle are the only parts eaten. It is much more downy and spinous in its wild than in its cultivated state[41]. Billerbeck supposes it to be the Σκόλυμος of Dioscorides, and quotes passages of Pliny, where he supposes it to be meant. Mr. H. F. Talbot, in an account of the vegetation of Corfu, written in 1825, says—"The extensive cultivation of the artichoke is curious; it serves for hedges, and very pretty ones[42]."

The Cynara Cardunculus, or cardoon, grows in the same countries. It has numerous long spines; stem four or five feet high. The roots, stalks, and midribs of the leaves are eaten.

In Phrynichus we find mention of Ἄκανθαι among culinary herbs[43]. Athenæus quotes various passages relating to the Cynara, in which it is called Ἄκανθα κύναρα and Ἄκανθα κύναρος. He reckons it among the esculent vegetables, and among other authors quotes Ptolemy Euergetes, as mentioning a part of Egypt where the plant grew in abundance; so that the soldiers gathered it, stript off the thorns, and used it for food[44].

We may conclude that the Ἄκανθα of Phrynichus, and of the authors cited by Athenæus, was either a kind of artichoke, or some spinous plant belonging to the same natural order[45].

The following lines of Columella have often been quoted as descriptive of the artichoke:—

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[39] Rees's *Cyclop. Art.* Scolymus. See Beckmann's *Hist. of Inventions*, Vol. I. p.352. Sprengel's *Trans. of Theophrast. Hist. Pl.* Vol. II. p. 232.

[40] *Memoirs of European and As. Turkey*, ed. by Walpole, p. 245.

[41] Beckmann, *ibid.* p. 340.

[42] Mem. of Sir J. E. Smith, Vol. II. p. 294.

[43] *Eclogæ*, p. 111, ed. Lobeck.

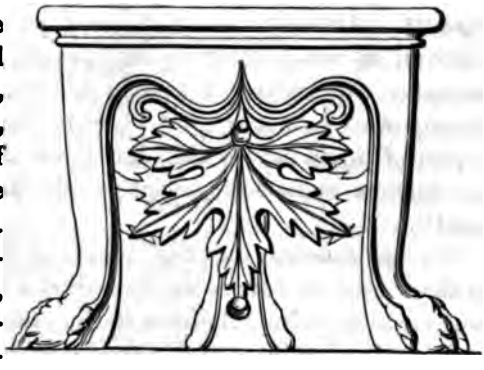
[44] Athen. II. pp. 70, 71. Casaub.

[45] That some others are used for food, see Beckman, *ibid.* p. 347. 351.

Hispida ponatur cinara, quæ dulcis Iaccho
Potanti veniat, nec Phœbo grata canenti.
Hæc modo purpureo surgit glomerata corymbo,
Myrtiolo modo crine viret, deflexaque collo
Nunc adoperta manet, nunc pinea vertice pungit,
Nunc similis calatho, spinisque minantibus horret,
Pallida nonnunquam tortos imitatur acanthos. L. x. 235—241.

Columella mentions "caules acanthini" among plants the flowers of which were very acceptable to bees. (L. IX. c. 4, p. 369, Bip.) The phrase has been generally supposed to refer to the brank-ursine; but the class of plants, to which the brank-ursine belongs, are not in general remarkable for producing honey, and of this plant, in particular, we are informed that the flowers are scentless[46]. On the other hand, the plants of the natural order Compositæ afford a large supply of honey, and the bees may be seen continually alighting upon their flowers, more especially of the large, purple, showy kinds. I should therefore interpret Columella's expression of plants of this class, such as Onopordum Acanthium, and the genera Scolymus and Cynara.

These plants appear scarcely less adapted than the brank-ursine to supply ornamental patterns to the artist. A three-footed bronze lamp-stand, found at Herculaneum, is adorned with a leaf exactly like that of the artichoke and cardoon. See *Antichità d'Ercolano*, T. VIII. p. 275, from which the annexed wood-cut is copied.



[46] "Flores sessiles, magni, formosi, *inodori*." Flora Græca Sibth. a Smith.

V.

Genus Mimosa. (Polygamia Monœcia. *Nat. Order*, Lomentaceæ.)

Herodotus (II. 96) applies the term Ἄκανθα to a tree which produced gum, and of the timber of which the Egyptians made planks and masts[47] for their boats.

Theophrastus[48] says of the Egyptian Acanthus, that the whole tree is prickly, except the trunk; that it does not grow very straight, but is so large as to yield planks ten cubits long; that there are two kinds, one white, the other black; that the white is weaker and more liable to decay than the black, on which account the black was used in ship-building for the ribs or knees; that the fruit is a pod, which the natives use for tanning hides; that the flower is beautiful, and therefore displayed in garlands, and has medicinal virtues; and that the tree yields gum, both spontaneously and by incision.

Hellanicus mentions the White and Black Acantha, states that trees of both these kinds grew in the temple at Tindion, in Egypt; and describes garlands made of the flowers of the acanthus together with those of the pomegranate and the leaves of the vine[49]. It is worthy of observation, that this author uses both the terminations Ἄκανθος and Ἄκανθα; and I believe it might be proved, in general, that these terminations are found indiscriminately, whether the occurrence of them is to be attributed to their original identity of signification, or to their being confounded by the transcribers.

Dioscorides (I. 133) evidently refers to the same tree, under the name *acacia* (Ἀκακία), formed from the same root (ΑΚ, *a point*) with the more common name Acanthus. "It has," says he, "a white flower, and seeds in pods like lupines. * * * The best gum is convoluted like a worm, unmixed with wood, and transparent like glass." The tree is noticed by Strabo, in his account of Egypt, under the name Ἄκανθος or Ἄκανθα[50].

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[47] Ἱστὸς ἀκάνθινος.

[48] *Hist. Plant.* IV. c. 3, p. 124, Schneider. The substance of this account, translated into Latin, is found in Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* XIII. 9, sect. 19, and XXIV. c. 67.

[49] Ap. Athenæum, XV. p. 680. Hellanici Lesbii Fragmenta, *ed. Sturz, p. 43.*

[50] L. XVI. p. 390; XVII. p. 570. 587, Vol. 6, ed. Tzschucke. He states, that it grew in the North of Arabia, and that it yielded gum. He also mentions, that there was at Ptolemais a grove of these trees sacred to Apollo, ἀκάνθων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἄλσος ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

One passage of Virgil has been generally understood to refer to the same tree:—

Balsamaque, et baccas semper frondentis acanthi.—Georg. II. 119.

In all these passages the reference is clearly to the Egyptian acacia, from which we obtain gum arabic. A difficulty has arisen with regard to Virgil's use of the term 'baccæ.' Some suppose him to have meant the pods, some the round flowers, some the globules of the gum[51], and some the beans, or seeds, contained in the pods[52]. In my judgment he meant the globules of gum.

We find the term *acacia* applied, not only to the tree, but also to the gum which exuded from it. See Plin. *H.N.* XXIV. 12. s. 67. Galen, explaining a verse of Andromachus the Elder, which mentions "the dark tears of the acanthus," says, "He means the acacia, produced from the Egyptian Acanthus."[53]

According to Hasselquist (p. 250), the species of Mimosa corresponding to the acanthus of Virgil and the others, is Mimosa Nilotica, *Linn.* But Sprengel, in his account of the genus Acacia of Willdenow, explains the difference between the White and Black Acantha, supposing the former to be Acacia Senegal, *Willd.*, and the latter Acacia Arabica, *Willd.* Of the latter species, he says, that the wood, which is extremely durable, is, when old, nearly as black as ebony[54].

Lastly, we may, I think, with the greatest probability, refer to this head a remarkable passage of Velleius Paterculus. He says of Julius Cæsar, "Quinque egit triumphos: Gallici apparatus ex citro, Pontici ex acantho, Alexandrini testudine, Africi ebore, Hispaniensis argento rasili constitit." (Lib. II. 56.) This was about 43 B.C. In the matters used to decorate the five triumphs is an evident allusion to the countries, from which they came. The ornaments of the triumph over Pontus were made of acanthus. Vossius and others have thought that these ornaments were models or figures representing the conquered

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[51] Martyn *ad loc.*

[52] Sprengel, Trans. of Theoph. Vol. II. p. 134.

[53] Τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας ἀκάνθης γεννωμένην ἀκακίαν. *De Antid.* I. 14. p. 889, quoted by Hardouin on Plin. l. c.

[54] Article Acanthus in Ersch u. Gruber's *Encyclopædie.* See also Sprengel's *Hist. Rei Herb.* Vol. I. p. 107, and his Translation of Theophrastus, Vol. II. p. 135. Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, 4. 1. p. 277—280.

cities, and cut out of the wood of a tree called Acanthus. But we have seen, that Dioscorides denominates the tree of which we have been speaking, *acacia*. He also asserts (l. c.) that "another acacia, resembling the Egyptian, but inferior to it in size, height, and strength, and very thorny, grew in Cappadocia and Pontus." It is possible, therefore, that the wood of a species of Acacia or Mimosa, close-grained like ebony, and adapted for ornamental purposes, may have been used on the occasion referred to by the historian; and, in support of this supposition, it may be observed, that the four other materials mentioned are also solid substances, capable of being carved into the models of cities and other figures.

JAMES YATES.

II.

ÆSCHYLI SUPPLICES. RECENSUIT, EMENDAVIT, EXPLANAVIT, FREDERICUS A. PALEY, M.A., Coll. Div. Joh. Cant. Cantabrigiæ, typis Academicis, impensis J. et J. J. Deighton, 1844.

It may be proper to state the circumstances under which the following remarks are submitted to the reader. The writer of them had for some time contemplated, and had indeed in some measure actually commenced, an edition of the Supplices of Æschylus, when an intimation was made to him through the Cambridge publishers, that Mr. Paley of that university had spent much time and labour in preparing a critical edition of this play for the press, and that the work itself was upon the point of coming out. This information was accompanied by the expression of a hope that it would not, under these circumstances, be considered expedient to bring forward almost at the same time, two editions of a play comparatively so little read, and for which there was not, in any case, likely to be a very extensive demand. This request, urged as it was with much propriety and courtesy on the part of the publishers, was willingly taken into consideration; and not only from the fact of Mr. Paley having had the priority in point of time, but also from a wish not needlessly to interfere with the interests of another, the other edition was, for the present at least, laid aside. Having examined Mr. Paley's work on its subsequent appearance, with a view to ascertain how far the desideratum so long felt respecting the Supplices had been supplied, the writer could not but feel obliged to differ materially from him in the views which he had adopted, with regard, more especially, to the critical emendation of the text; and he trusts he shall stand excused by all, and by none more than by Mr. Paley himself, if he shall offer to the consideration of the reader some few strictures which have occurred to him in the perusal of his work—strictures, of course, which must stand or fall upon their own truth or falsity, and which are offered simply in the hope of further aiding such as would pilot themselves through one, confessedly, of the most corrupt and intricate of the remains of the Grecian tragedy.

This being admitted on all hands to be the case, as regards this play, and amongst others by Mr. Paley himself, who, in the beginning of his preface, speaks of it as "corruptissimam difficillimamque fabulam," we must confess we were rather startled, in the outset, by the somewhat ambitious wording of his title-page, "Recensuit, emendavit, explanavit." The two last expressions, and particularly the second, are surely rather strong ones for any classical scholar, especially a young one, to employ respecting a work which, notwithstanding the sagacity of men like Porson and Elmsley, still appears in many places as a mass of inextricable confusion. The man who should clear from error this accumulation of corruptions, and prove, beyond reasonable doubt, that he had restored in every place what Æschylus actually wrote, would assuredly be δεινὸς εὑρεῖν κἀξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον. He would indeed be a very prince of critics, a man of superhuman penetration. Nay, we would go far to pay our tribute of homage to the man who should restore, beyond the possibility of well-grounded controversy, even some six or seven passages. Whether Mr. Paley has fulfilled the professions of his title, must be left to others to determine: we purpose to offer below, somewhat in detail, a few remarks on the "emendations" which he has exhibited in his text. We shall pass over many which he has suggested in his notes; for with these we can have no ground of quarrel. If any one chooses to venture his credit largely on such hazardous speculations, he is of course at liberty to do so. Our present object is simply to insist on the impropriety of obtruding them upon us as the genuine language of the author.

Conjectures, it must be remembered, are not emendations. If it were so, critics, like Alexander, must look round for other worlds to conquer. Out of the vast mass of conjectural emendation which modern criticism has offered, even since a more accurate knowledge of the laws of Greek construction and of metre has, for the most part, precluded such suggestions as were formerly offered in profusion by those who were less acquainted with these departments of learning, there is certainly not a thousandth part which any modern scholar, who valued his reputation, would receive into his text. And still less would a prudent editor venture to obtrude there, to any extent, such conjectures of his own as may not, however they may recommend themselves to his own judgment, or be inge-

nious in themselves, be likely from their intrinsic merit to win the same amount of respect and consideration from others. We cannot say, however, that this appears to us to be the view which Mr. Paley has taken of this matter.

But we will quote his own words, when speaking of the alternative of retaining the corrupt, but received and more ancient reading, or inserting the *probable* conjectures of modern critics. "Fac neutra a poeta profecta esse: utrum tandem præstat, quod bonam et facilem fundat sententiam, an quod totius loci rationem penitus pessundet atque conturbet?" We beg to say, that we differ entirely from this mode of settling the case. It is, in effect, by a process of ingenious device, to make the ancient classics *readable;* and since in scholarship, as in other things, it is vain to expect unanimity of opinion, were they to be edited in this manner, no two editions would bear any similarity to each other. Two conditions, as it seems to us, are *generally* necessary to the reception of a conjectural reading into the text; the first is, that the old reading should, by the evidence of the sense, or by the acknowledged laws of language or of metre, or of both of these, be indisputably shewn to be wrong; the second, that the proposed reading should carry with it so high a degree of probability, as to render its adoption almost a matter of certainty. We do not say that cases may not occur where the first condition may be dispensed with, and where the elegance of the passage (always, however, an uncertain criterion) may be so increased by a conjecture *in itself* highly probable, that few editors would hesitate to adopt it. Such, for instance (we quote the first which occurs to our recollection), is that of Porson on *Agam.* (v. 850, ed. Dind.), where for the old reading, *πήματος τρέψαι νόσον*, which is still explicable, and is, in fact, if we remember rightly, retained by Klausen, Porson's conjecture, *πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσου*, carries with it such a degree of probability, as to amount almost to a certain evidence of its truth. But, as a general rule, we affirm it to be unsafe to depart from the principles above laid down, and which the practice of the best critics sanctions. When no adequate help can be obtained from MSS. and old edd., it is far better, as a general principle, to retain the old corrupt reading, purified as far as these ancient sources will admit, and to confine the work of conjecture to the notes. We do not say that *no* conjectures are to be admitted; we do not prescribe that to others

which we have not followed ourselves[1]. *Dabitur licentia sumta pudenter.* It is the abuse only of the privilege which we condemn, and we really think that Mr. Paley has in some measure laid himself open to the charge, when we say that we have reckoned, on a hasty calculation, between eighty and ninety emendations not previously introduced by editors into the text —and this in a play not much exceeding a thousand verses. Of this large number, nearly *fifty* are conjectures of his own.

And here we cannot but remark, that Mr. Paley, although he thus calls upon us to so considerable an extent to receive his own suggestions as the genuine writing of his author, has omitted to give in his notes a sufficiently complete account of what other sources furnish, or of what others have before put forward in the same department. For in his notes he has not given us more than a meagre selection from those critical data, drawn from the collation of MSS. and older edd., which are most material for forming a correct judgment of the value of an emendation. Few ordinary scholars can be expected to refer to these for themselves; and the readers of an edition professedly critical have a right to expect that they shall find a tolerably distinct account of these variations: such, for instance, as that given by Dindorf in his late annotations on the Greek scenic poets. Mr. Paley's apology is, that he would not increase the size of his book by a "useless mass of matter." We cannot think it useless; such things are φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν, and for such readers the critic destines his labours. Still less, however, can we approve his omission of several *probable* (to say the least) emendations of other critics. It surely argues something like vanity in a writer who introduces without scruple into his text the most arbitrary emendations of his own, to pass *sicco pede* over those suggestions of others which, whether or not deserving to be admitted into the text (which we by no means contend for), most scholars will regard as, at any rate, not less plausible than Mr. Paley's own alterations.

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[1] Lest we should inadvertently be charging others with an offence of which we may have been equally guilty ourselves, we have glanced at our edition of the *Eumenides*, and there find, introduced in a play of equal length, not a fifth part of the amount of conjectural emendation which appears in Mr. Paley's book. And, even had it not been so, we should not have scrupled to confess, that further consideration induces us more and more to the opinion that the less the text of classical authors is tampered with the better.

Surely this is to make one's own judgment the standard of what may or may not be probable, and cannot be expected to meet with the assent and approbation of the reader. We of course are not arguing for the practice of recording every emendation, good, bad, and indifferent, which may have been suggested. Such a work would be as inglorious as it would be useless. The critic himself must be responsible for perceiving "quid distent æra lupinis." And if Mr. Paley shall affirm that he has in fact omitted nothing which in his judgment was worthy of being registered, all we can say in that case is, that in several places our judgment must materially differ from his.

We trust Mr. Paley will not be offended if we call his attention briefly in passing to the rather too self-confident manner (it may, very likely, be only manner) in which he occasionally expresses himself when recording his own emendations. This belongs to a school of criticism which we should be sorry to see gaining ground in this country. It is, at any rate, better avoided, and almost always gives an unfavourable impression to the reader. We allude to such expressions as, "certissimam habeo emendationem meam;" "certissime correxi *εὐρεῖαισιν αὔραις*" "equidem nullus dubito quin poetæ verba ad amussim ordinaverim," and not a few others of a similar description. However, we willingly let this pass.

We have only one more observation to make before we proceed to offer a few more detailed remarks on those points in Mr. Paley's work which seem principally to call for animadversion. We mean the very common use which he has made of the English language for the purpose of interpreting the sense of his author, whilst his notes are drawn up professedly, and most properly, in Latin. We by no means say, that when an English expression forms a more exact equivalent to the Greek than any Latin one could do, it may not be used with propriety, and with advantage also, to the English reader; but of the places, upwards of a hundred and fifty, where Mr. Paley has had recourse to English, in order to explain words or passages, the great majority might, we conceive, have been rendered with equal force and advantage in Latin. Why, for instance, should *ὀνοταζόμεναι* be rendered *abominantes*, Ang. *spurning, loathing?* and so of a great number of places besides. How very awkward reads such a passage as "vulgata verti possunt *take in hand* sive *put in force some expedient*," v. 204. This gives at

least an unsightly and unscholarlike appearance to the notes; and if the work were used by continental readers, would often render the explanations nugatory. Of course no one will suppose that we are insinuating that Mr. Paley could not with perfect ease have employed Latin in these instances, had he preferred; and our assurance that he could have done this only increases our surprise that he should so often have adopted the readier, but less uniform method, of giving the sense of the more difficult passages in the vernacular tongue.

But we must hasten to our conclusion. The foregoing remarks will have implied that we conceive Mr. Paley to have fallen into two errors, of an opposite character, in the work of professedly critical editorship; that of having been too profuse in the introduction of his own alterations into the text, and also that of not having, on some occasions, recorded in his notes (in some cases, as we shall venture to remark below, thought worthy of adoption) those conjectural emendations of others which may be considered as fairly entitled to at least a passing observation. We will notice briefly, in the first place, a few of Mr. Paley's own emendations.

In v. 51 seqq., occurs the well-known corrupt passage, *τά τε νῦν ἐπιδείξω πιστὰ τεκμήρια, τά τ' ἀνόμοια οἷδ' ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φανεῖται.* Here Mr. Paley gives us his first specimen of emendation, and we fear we must say that it is a sample of many others, injudiciously and arbitrarily introduced into the text. For *τά τ' ἀνόμοια, οἷδ'*, he reads *τ' ἄλλ' ἔτι μοι καί*, a conjecture which certainly none of the reasons which he adduces would incline us to adopt.

138. For *παντὶ δὲ σθένουσι διωγμοῖσι δ' ἀσφαλίας, κ.τ.λ.*, Mr. Paley reads *παντὶ δὲ σθένουσ' ἰωχμῷ ἀσφαλέως. σθένουσ' ἰωχμῷ* is Mr. Paley's conjecture: as a conjecture, we prefer Lachmann's, which Mr. Paley has not recorded. We doubt the word *ἀσφαλέως*, and also whether *ἀσφαλὲς* in v. 137 can bear the adverbial meaning which must be assigned to it, according to Mr. Paley's interpretation.

247. We cannot by any means assent to Mr. Paley's arbitrary assumption that *Πελασγοῦ* can be joined in construction with *γῆς*. He says that there is "nihil omnino difficultatis" in so doing. He however quotes only *Ἰνδοὺς* in v. 280, which we hardly think a parallel case, even though Bothe may be wrong in suggesting *Ἰνδάς*. And here we cannot but notice,

that on this latter passage he quotes without remark the former verse according to his own emendation, there alleging Πελασγοῦ γῆς as authority for Ἰνδοὺς as a feminine. This is surely arguing in a circle. We observe again on v. 862, that he quotes *Eumen.* 248, thus,—ὁ δ' αὖτέ νυν ἀλκὰν ἔχων, as if this were the genuine text of the poet; although νυν has been adopted by him from his own conjecture in a note on *Suppl.* v. 19.

262. γαῖα μηνιτὶ δάκη. This is Mr. Paley's emendation for μηνεῖται ἄκη. Doubtless the MS. readings are corrupt; but is this sufficient reason for an editor's thrusting into the text a word of his own formation, and which, although it may be agreeable to analogy, is certainly without any authority from usage for its introduction?

429. We doubt much the legitimacy of the position of ἄρα as it appears in Mr. Paley's emendation: ὁπότερ' ἂν κτίσῃς μένει ἄρ' ἐκτίνειν. As a conjecture, ἄρει 'κτίνειν is, we think, better. On the next verse he remarks (adopting from Klausen ὁμοιΐαν): "Legitimam esse Homericam formam nemo dubitabit." We must be permitted, however, very strongly to doubt its legitimacy here.

438. Mr. Paley seems confident about his emendation of this obscure passage. Still we cannot agree with his alteration. We have scarcely any doubt that v. 438 has been introduced from another place. This, we believe, is Dindorf's opinion; yet Mr. Paley has not thought it requisite even to notice this.

462. Since Mr. Paley observes upon his own emendation, καὶ πολλαχῇ μέν, "quod dedi vix placet," we think he should scarcely obtrude upon his readers what does not appear to have satisfied himself.

480. We do not believe that ἵκτορα τάδε (as Mr. Paley reads for οἶκτος εἰσιδὼν τάδε) could possibly bear the meaning which Mr. Paley gives to it: sc. *hæc supplicum instrumenta;* ἱκτήρια might mean this; ἵκτορα certainly could not.

761. Τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφαντος ἀμπετεῖσ', ἄϊστος ὡς. Here, certainly, Mr. Paley has exhibited rather a desperate spirit of innovation, by introducing a conjectural form ἀμπετεῖσ', as from a verb πέτημι. Πέτημι, πετείς, as τίθημι, τιθείς, says Mr. Paley. But, we must observe, that we regard this most easy plan of considering what the Greeks *might* have written, as one of the most un-

satisfactory possible, and only to be adopted with the utmost caution. Haupt's conjecture, which he adopts in the latter part of the verse, ἄϊστος ὡς, from the Medicean ασδοσως, is not improbable. Mr. Paley incorrectly states that Dind. reads ἀμπτᾶσα δ' ὡς, from Turn. That editor properly recalls in his notes the corrupt Medicean reading, ἀμπετήσας δοσως.

769. Πρὶν ἄνδρ' ἀπευκτὸν τᾷδε χριμφθῆναι· χεροῖν πρόπαρ' θανούσας δ' Ἀΐδας ἀνάσσοι. Thus Mr. Paley, who observes, "Imo τᾷδε, *mihi*, δεικτικῶς." But surely the pronoun would not thus be used without the addition of γυναικί, or some equivalent substantive[2]. Again, χεροῖν θανεῖν cannot certainly mean, as Mr. Paley translates it, *suis ipsius manibus mortem oppetere;* αὐτοχερὶ from Callim. *Epig.* 21, which he compares as parallel, has the precise element, *sc.* αὐτός, which the other wants. Such a method of emendation and explanation hardly justifies the expression, "locum nondum intellectum, ut spero, persanavi."

786. Τίνα γὰρ ἀμφ' αὐτᾶς πόρον καὶ γάμου λυτήρι' εὕρω. This, which Mr. Paley says restores both sense and metre, is to us unintelligible. Schütz's emendation of καὶ λυτήρια, *sc.* λυτῆρα, is not noticed. It is not necessary, we think, to reject the reading of the Medicean MS., and Rob. τέμνω, because the expression τέμνειν πόρον does not elsewhere occur in this sense.

979. Χἄλωρα κωλύουσαν ἀσμένην ὁρῶ. Mr. Paley, not without reason, confesses that his translation of κωλύειν ἕλωρα, sc. *prohibere ne prædæ fiant*, is harsh. It is, indeed, impossible. We think he will recall it, on further consideration.

The above are a few not unfairly selected specimens of Mr. Paley's mode of dealing with the text; and we leave it to those competent to decide whether we express a partial judgment in saying that no one of them ought to have been obtruded upon the reader.

Space prevents us from noticing in detail other alterations also introduced, *e.g.* in v. 62. 91. 190. (the argument drawn from the repetition of the same word within three lines is surely not a valid one. Everybody knows how frequently this occurs in Æschylus: the same argument Mr. Paley adduces again on v. 750). 244. 474. 541. 680. 694. 772. (Mr.

[2] A place in the *Œd. Col.* v. 450, *sc.* οὐ γάρ τι μὴ λάχωσι τοῦδε συμμάχου, has been pointed out to us as a *possible* instance of this. But the place is capable of another and better explanation.

Paley has made, we think, too free use of this sense of τε, sc. *nempe*, for the purpose of emendation), 821. 825. seqq. 837. 843. In v. 852, we are glad that he approves our suggestion, οἰζύος χέων νόμον. We do not think in the former part of the verse he has been more felicitous than ourselves in suggesting ἴυζε πικρόν. We are not anxious, however, to dispute the point. Other instances of (as we conceive) unsatisfactory alteration will be found in vv. 849. 862. 927. 960. 996. 1025. Respecting these, as we cannot enlarge, it would be unfair to pronounce any sweeping opinion; whilst, however, we admit that something may be alleged, as regards some, on the score of ingenuity; and while, had they been sparingly introduced, we should not have thought it worth while to object, we must repeat, upon the whole, they do not any of them appear to carry with them such a degree of probability as to justify their introduction into the text.

The above are, we believe, the chief alterations of importance introduced by Mr. Paley, as from his own conjecture, except ἐρεθομένα, in v. 535, for ἐρεσσομένα, and two others, to be mentioned directly. As regards this one, we think it one of his best suggestions. Still the vulgate ἐρεσσομένα appears to us so much more Æschylean, that we should prefer to look for the corruption in the antistrophe, where Klausen proposes Λύδιά τ' ἐς γύαλα, Mr. Paley, Λύδιά τ' ἀγγύαλα.

The other two alluded to are in v. 353, where for the vulgate ἴδοιτο δῆτα τὰν ἄνατον φυγάν, Mr. Paley reads ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἄνατον φυγάν· and v. 756, where for the old ἰὼ γᾶ βουνῖτι, ἔνδικον σέβας, he corrects ἰὼ γᾶ βοῦνι, πάνδικον σέβας. Now the former conjecture is Pauw's, yet Mr. Paley certainly *seems* to put it forward as his own: at least, no mention is made of the source whence it is taken. So likewise, in the latter verse, βοῦνι had been already read by Dindorf, who quotes in support of the hiatus in the vocative, Aristoph. *Acharn.* 749. We cannot attribute this to ignorance on Mr. Paley's part, that these conjectures were the property of others; nor, on the other hand, can we suppose that he wishes to claim the credit of them for himself. It might have saved misunderstanding had he been more explicit. We may remark the same thing respecting his suggestion, ἴσως γὰρ ἄν, for ἴσως γὰρ ἤ, in v. 707, which had been proposed by Burgess. This emendation is suggested also in some MS. notes on the Supplices, kindly communicated

to us by Dr. Blomfield, referring, however, at the same time, to Hermann's note on *Ajax*, v. 904.

We will now briefly advert to those places where Mr. Paley has, in our opinion, unnecessarily, or without sufficient grounds, introduced into the text the alterations of others. Space forbids us to enlarge; but we hope credit will be given us for not speaking without having duly weighed the merits of each. We allude, *e.g.* to such as ἀποπρὸ στομίων, v. 3; φυξανορίᾳ, v. 8; τίνα νυν for οὖν, v. 19 (possibly here, however, Haupt may be right); ὦ πόλις, ὦ γῆ, Rob. and Blomf. in v. 23; δέξαισθ', v. 27; ἔγγαιος οἶτον, v. 57 (here Bamberger's suggestion, ἐγγαῖος, was worth recording); εἰ θείη θεός, v. 80; πᾶν ἄπονον, v. 93; ἐπίδρομ' ὀπόθι, v. 116; τὸν Ζαγρέα, v. 146 (we cannot conceive how the reasons adduced can justify the introduction of this); μαστίκτειρα, v. 193; τεθυμένος, v. 152; νυν, v. 204 (this is not necessary); πανσόφου-τούτου, v. 314; ἁπλῶς, v. 450; φόνον, v. 492 (which, however plausible, is by no means necessary); τοῖ' ἃ, v. 513 (Mr. Paley does not mention that there is a MS. v. reading ποῖα); Θυιὰς Ἥρας, v. 558; πρὸς πόλεως, v. 613; πρεσβυτοδόκοι γερόντων, v. 652. In support of this last reading, Mr. Paley refers to a "disputation" by Mr. Donaldson upon γεραροῖσι, in the sense of *sacrificial offerings*. We have not read the disputation in question, but doubt much whether it would convince us that such is the case. At the same time, other ways of explaining the passage are open to objection: ἀτρεμαῖα, in v. 677, is from the very improbable conjecture of Butler. There are other passages also, but these will suffice. We do not at all intend to pronounce a decided condemnation of all these; some of which are by no means *improbable*, and are the conjectures of most eminent scholars. Still we must say they do not come recommended to our judgment with that amount of evidence that we should have ventured to exhibit them as an integral part of the text.

The following emendations, however, have been introduced on better grounds: ἥμενος ὄν, by Haupt, for ἥμενος ἄνω, v. 93; λαβών, Wordsworth, for λαβεῖν, v. 174; μάταιος αἰτίαν, (a conjecture which it seems strange how any one can have missed,) v. 225; τήν τε, Stanl., for τήνδε, v. 252; κοὐ κρυπτά γ', Stanl., v. 291; ὄνοιτο, Boissonade, v. 331; λυκοδίωκτον, Herm., v. 345; τίς, for οὔτις, Well., v. 636; κελαινόχρως, Lachm., v. 765;

'Αργεῖος, Both.; εἴσει σύ τ', Id. v. 915. For these the judicious reader will thank Mr. Paley. There can be little doubt of their veracity.

We have remarked above, that in some cases Mr. Paley has not given due weight to the various readings of old MSS. and edd., or to the conjectural emendations of other critics, whilst, at the same time, he has been unusually free in admitting his own. We humbly conceive that there is better reason for receiving the following readings into the text than for any which he has himself proposed, *e.g.* πατραδελφείαν, v. 38; ἐπικεκλομένα, v. 40; ἀηδονίοισι, v. 66. (Mr. Paley's support of 'Ιαονίοισι is ingenious, but not convincing;) ἱκτηρίας, v. 188; νεύονθ', v. 349. This admirable conjecture Mr. Paley does not even mention, though his own interpretation of the words is harsh in the extreme:—δρακονθόμιλον, v. 263. Surely this last ought to have been admitted. There is no parallelism at all between such an expression as δράκων ὅμιλος and γῆ μήτηρ, κύων βοτήρ, κ.τ.λ. So λήματ', v. 338; ἀστοῖς δὲ πᾶσι τῶνδε, κ.τ.λ., v. 363; we do not think these words would be Greek, according to Mr. Paley's interpretation. εὑρεθέντα, v. 483; ὡς ἀνηϐῆσαί με, v. 600; where there is a very long note to prove what no good scholar doubts, *sc.* that ὡς ἄν, under certain circumstances, may be joined with an optative. Other places again there are, where certain conjectural emendations, although it would not have been expedient to admit them into the text, were at least deserving of record: *e.g.* ἀνελληνόστολον, v. 130; τρόπον for τόπον, in v. 228; κρεοϐόρους, v. 283; κοταίνοντα, v. 636; and some others.

But the most striking instance occurs in v. 667, seqq., where, having retained the vulgar reading ἵζοι κράτους ἀτερπής, Mr. Paley proceeds to say in his note—"Optime Dindorfius ἵζοι κρατὸς ἀτερπής (the conjecture belongs to Voss, not to Dindorf) nisi quod sic pessundatur metrum antistrophicum." A serious qualification, certainly, to the value of an emendation. But surely Mr. Paley must have recollected, and therefore ought to have mentioned, that in the antistrophe Dindorf adopts Ahrens' conjecture, μοῦσαν θεῖεν ἀοιδοί, or, as he himself prefers, in the middle form, μοῦσαν θείατ' ἀοιδοί. This being the state of the case, Mr. Paley should certainly have done this justice to Dindorf, and also have avoided expressing himself, in the latter part of this note, in a way seeming to imply that he himself had first detected the error in the antistrophe. In v. 674 ἐπὶ

βωμοῖς is not only so well supported by MSS., but agrees so well with Ahrens' conjecture, that we have no hesitation in pronouncing it genuine. But not only does Mr. Paley simply record this reading, preferring the conjecture derived from Turnebus, but of Ahrens' suggestion no mention is made whatever.

As regards the explanation of the text, so far as it does not depend upon assumed emendations, Mr. Paley has done better. Apart from the circumstance alluded to above, of his so frequent use of English, his translations of the harder passages are for the most part clear and satisfactory. We differ from him occasionally on points where critics are disagreed, but have not time or space to enter upon this part of the subject. We may mention, however, as just occurring to us, that we do not imagine that παχῦναι, in v. 612, could possibly bear the meaning which he assigns to it, *sc. sinat ditescere;* nor are the instances adduced as such parallel. Neither could θελκτήριος, in v. 441, possibly govern ἀλγεινά, as Mr. Paley himself is evidently aware. In v. 967 τιμιωτέραν, as joined with ἐμοῦ, is certainly harsh; but to join it with τυγχάνοντος is assuredly much harsher. In this passage Mr. Paley has not considered a suggestion of our own, τοιάνδε for τοιῶνδε, worth notice. We really think however εὐπρυμνῆ φρενὸς χάριν as it now stands, very bald and indefinite; nor is this remedied by Mr. Paley's proposal to read ἐν πρύμνῃ φρενός, a harsh metaphor, which would not be qualified by the context, as it is in the passage *Choeph.* 383. In v. 562, Mr. Paley translates δυσχερὲς *intractable*, calling our interpretation, *sc. disgusting*, "mirificam." Yet surely his own would require δυσχείρωτον, rather than δυσχερές. Whatever is *annoying*, *unpleasant*, *disagreeable*, is rightly called δυσχερής. As Mr. Paley has occasionally paid us the compliment of consulting the explanations given in our Lexicon to Æschylus, he might possibly have ascertained that the proper construction, in v. 15, seqq. εὐχόμενον βοὸς ἐξ ἐπαφῆς, which he asserts that no interpreter but Heath had taken rightly, is there given, s. v. εὔχομαι. The same thing occurs again in v. 317, where he says that the true meaning of ἀναστῆσαι here, *sc. to raise up suppliants*, had never before been pointed out. This likewise will be found in our Lexicon, s. v. ἀνιστάναι. We may observe, in passing, upon this verse, that although the construction πράσσοις ἂν ὡς ἀνστήσεις may certainly be a legitimate one, yet we think in this place the Medicean reading ἀνστήσας

is correct. The meaning probably is, *act as if you had already taken us under your protection.* At all events, there was no occasion to go out of the way for an emendation, when the reading ἀνστήσῃς of Rob. Vict. has an equally good and far more usual construction.

We will briefly allude to one passage concerning which we looked for something at least in the way of illustration, but which Mr. Paley has passed over without the slightest remark. We mean vv. 180, 181, τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέται ὀπτῆρες εἶεν ἀγγέλων πεπυσμένοι. This has always struck us as being a strange and difficult construction, if indeed the passage is genuine. And yet, as far as we recollect, no commentators have noticed it as such; this however is not surprising, when we consider how many passages of real difficulty are slyly passed unnoticed, whilst abundant explanation is lavished on those which require little or none. What is the construction τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὀπτῆρες εἶεν? The *sense* is obvious, but the construction is assuredly harsh. We have ourselves noted a few passages which seem something to the purpose, but we cannot at this moment lay our hand upon them. We cannot help suspecting the passage to be corrupt.

But it is time that we close our observations. The grammatical and illustrative matter which Mr. Paley has embodied in his notes, we have not had time carefully to examine. They seem, however, to consist chiefly of allusions, for the benefit of younger students, to peculiarities of construction, and a fair selection of parallel passages for those who are desirous of this sort of information. We observe that Mr. Paley makes frequent mention of Mr. Donaldson and Mr. Peile. The author of the *New Cratylus* he speaks of as "optime de Æschylo meritus." The latter gentleman will scarcely feel complimented by the soubriquet ὁ σκοτεινὸς attached by Mr. Paley to his name. Our business, however, has been with the critical portion of the work, and in this respect we certainly cannot accord to Mr. Paley the tribute of our praise, either as regards the emendations which he has introduced, or the method he has occasionally adopted with respect to the conjectures of others. We trust that if these remarks should meet his eye, he will not see in them any just ground of complaint; at any rate, we hope he cannot be offended at the manner in which our opinion has been expressed. Λοιδορεῖσθαι οὐ πρέπει ἄνδρας ποιητὰς ὥσπερ

ἀροτοπωλίδας. We cannot but conceive that an attempt to introduce so many arbitrary emendations into the text of an ancient author, so far from being advantageous, is but another step in the process of deterioration: and as regards the Supplices especially, any endeavour to present it, with our present resources, in a form free from corruption, must be an utter failure. The glory, such as it is, of producing a Supplices emended and revised throughout, has already been monopolized by another; but few, we apprehend, will be envious of the distinction, or be ambitious of acquiring similar honours for themselves.

W. LINWOOD.

III.

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF A PART OF THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

Geographers have found great difficulty in laying down the track of the Ten Thousand Greeks in their retreat, between their crossing the Euphrates not far from its sources, and their arrival at the mountain whence they saw the sea. The time spent and the distance marched, according to Xenophon, are more than can be easily reconciled with the geographical positions which are identified by other arguments. Major Rennell gives up the greater part of the problem as impossible. Mr. Kinneir, after identifying the Phasis of Xenophon with the Araxes, says: "The principal difficulty however is to reconcile the distance, according to Xenophon, between the Euphrates and Phasis, with that between the Morad and Araxes. The Greeks made fourteen marches, at the rate of about five parasangs a day, making in all seventy parasangs, or about 245 miles between the Euphrates and the Phasis, whereas it is not more than 70 miles between the Morad and the Araxes, in the longitude of 42, near which I suppose them to have passed the Araxes. This, I must acknowledge, is quite irreconcilable, unless we suppose that they were purposely misled by the guide, and that in consequence they wandered about for many days without making any progress towards their journey's end, a conjecture rendered more probable by the bailiff having made his escape. I also repeat my belief of the impossibility of an army of ten thousand men marching at the rate of five parasangs a day for so many days successively, through a country where the snow lay a fathom deep upon the ground." Mr. Kinneir accordingly lays down a zigzag track upon his map, which he carries across the Araxes in a longitude nearly 43. (*Journey through Asia Minor, &c.*, p. 490.)

Mr. W. F. Ainsworth, in his *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks* (p. 176), and in the *Memoir on the Geography of the Anabasis of Xenophon*, published in the *Classical Museum* (Vol. I. p. 314), makes the Greeks, after crossing the

Euphrates, turn due west (see his map) for four days march, identifying the villages whence they procured the guide with the district about the modern Khanus (as Major Rennell had done before, for different reasons, and upon a different hypothesis of the route); and then, according to his map, they turn sharp, and march in a direction E.N.E.; and he describes them as marching three days with the guide, and seven days without him, before they arrive at the Phasis. (*Travels*, p. 179; *Classical Museum, ibid.*)

Now Xenophon is so far from saying that the Greeks took "a more westerly course," after crossing the Euphrates, that he says, that the north wind blew in their faces on the third day's march (ἄνεμος Βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει, IV. 5, 3). There is absolutely nothing, according to Mr. Ainsworth's notion of the route, but the existence of villages round the modern castle of Khanus, to identify that district with the group of villages where the Greeks rested a week; for Mr. Ainsworth goes beyond his author, when he speaks of "the palace of the satrap," and would fain suppose the modern castle to be on the same site. Xenophon says nothing of a palace. He says only, that the interpreter of the Greeks told the women and girls of the first village they came to, that they were troops marching from the king to the satrap; and they answered, that he was not there, but a parasang off (IV. 5, 10). I have little doubt that the strong argument which made Mr. Ainsworth suppose that the Greeks marched westward from the Euphrates, was his belief that after they resumed their march they were ten days in reaching the Phasis.

Now the difficulty which Mr. Kinneir and Mr. Ainsworth have felt arises chiefly from a false translation, by which the number of marches between the Euphrates and the Phasis is exactly doubled. The Greeks march four days before they arrive at the villages whence they procure the guide; and after they set out again, they march three days before the guide runs away from them. Then Xenophon goes on (*Anab.* IV. 6, 4), Μετὰ τοῦτο σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐπορεύθησαν, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φάσιν ποταμόν; that is, "After this they marched seven day's marches, at the rate of five parasangs a day, *along* the river Phasis;" not "*to* the river Phasis," as Mr. Kinneir and Mr. Ainsworth have understood the words. There is no real ambiguity in the meaning of παρά in such a context.

The meaning is the same as in v. 10, 1, ἔπλεον ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ τὴν γῆν, "they sailed two days *along* the coast." In III. 5, 1, we have παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν, and in IV. 3, 1, παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, where no motion is implied, but Xenophon is describing a plain "*by the side of* the river Tigres," and a plain "*by the side of* the river Kentrites." The prepositions which he uses in speaking of coming to a river, are ἐπί more frequently, and sometimes πρός; ἐπί in I. 2, 5; 4, 1; 4, 11; 5, 4; II. 4, 13; 4, 25; 5, 1; &c.: πρός in I. 4, 19; but never παρά. No doubt there are very many passages in which παρά with an accusative case is rightly translated by *to* in English; but I believe that in such passages the noun will always be found to denote persons, as in II. 2, 3, ἰέναι παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους, and in § 8, ἀφικνοῦνται παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιάν.

The number of marches, therefore, between the Euphrates and the Phasis is reduced to seven; a number which agrees well enough with the distance of seventy miles assigned by Mr. Kinneir. It is true that Xenophon gives fifteen parasangs, or about fifty miles, for the distance accomplished in the first three days; but he has not given the length of the fourth day's march, and, under the sufferings which he describes, it must have been short; nor does he actually give the distance marched in the last three days, although Mr. Kinneir is fair in supposing that Xenophon would have estimated it at five parasangs a day, according to his usual reckoning. But, on the one hand, we have no assurance that the Greeks marched by the shortest route during the first four days; for although they started with many guides (IV. 5, 1) from the villages where they were quartered four days before they reached the Euphrates, we are not told that these guides accompanied them even as far as the Euphrates; and supposing that they guided them to the fordable part of the river, it is not at all likely that they went further with them: and again, within the limits to which we are now brought down, I am quite ready to admit, that Xenophon may have over estimated the length of the marches, and measured them rather by time and fatigue than by actual distance.

Mr. Kinneir and Mr. Ainsworth agree in thinking that the Greeks must have crossed the Euphrates near Malasgherd, in longitude between 42 and 43, for the sufficient reason that it is not fordable lower down. (Kinneir, p. 489; Ainsworth, p. 176.) The remark of Xenophon, that "its sources were said to be not

far off," inclines me to believe that they crossed it yet further to the east. It is to be observed, however, that Major Rennell pronounces that the Greeks could not have passed the Morad so much as a degree and a half to the eastward of Khanoos, "because its course is there shut up by chains of mountains," which would not have permitted them to march in a northerly direction. (*Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus*, pp. 214, 215.)

At what point they struck the Phasis; whether in their seven days march along the river they marched up or down the stream; whether they crossed it at the beginning, or at the end, or in the course of the seven days; Xenophon unluckily does not tell us. He observes only that the river was a hundred feet broad. But from this small breadth, and from the fact that they were conducted almost to the banks of the river by their guide, who must have known that they wished to reach the nearest Greek city on the Euxine, that is, Trapezus (Trebizond), it may reasonably be conjectured that they came upon the river in the higher part of its course. Major Rennell supposes, with great probability, that their guide was leading them to a point at or near the site of the modern bridge of Kobankupri, which is on the direct road from the valley of the Morad to Trebizond (*Illustrations*, p. 225), about half a degree east of Erzeroom. If they reached the river at this part of its course, it is manifest that their march must have been down the stream, and it is likely that they crossed it before they began their march along it. We may conjecture that the name of the river led them to suppose that it was the same as the Phasis of Colchis, and that they followed the course of the stream in the hope that it would lead them towards the Euxine, till, seeing that it continued to flow eastward, they resolved to try a somewhat more direct line.

Xenophon indeed uses an expression in another part of his narrative, which, if it be taken strictly, implies that the army, even after they reached the Euxine, still believed that they had been on the banks of the Colchian Phasis. He tells us, that, when the army was at Cotyora, and ships had been collected to enable them to proceed homeward by sea, some of the other generals suggested to him, that the best plan for them was to sail to the Phasis, and take possession of the country of the

Phasians. This of course must be the Colchian Phasis; and the mention of a son of Æetes as king of the country puts the matter out of all question (v. 6, §§ 36, 37). But in the beginning of the next chapter he goes on to say, that Neon told the soldiers, that Xenophon purposed to deceive them, and lead them *back again* to the Phasis (*διανοεῖται ἄγειν ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας πάλιν εἰς Φάσιν*). The word *πάλιν*, "*back again*," has no precise meaning, unless they believed that they had been at the Phasis already. This combination is suggested by Rennell (*Illustrations*, p. 230).

Two days march from the Phasis to a ridge and descent into a plain (IV. 6, § 5) accords well enough with the face of the country north of the Araxes. But if the Harpasus is the modern Arpa-chai or Arpa-su, as geographers agree on good grounds in believing it to be, there is great difficulty in accounting for the five days march of thirty parasangs through the country of the Taochi, and the seven days march of fifty parasangs (one MS. says forty) through the country of the Chalybes (or Chaldæans, see v. 5, § 17), which the Greeks performed (besides the two days march) between the Phasis and the Harpasus (IV. 7, §§ 1 and 15). Mr. Kinneir has pointed out the improbability of marches of this length, exceeding by one or even two parasangs the average length of their previous marches; especially as the Chalybes, according to Xenophon's express testimony, were the most warlike of all the tribes whom they passed through, and came to close action with them, and harassed them all the way. But even if the numbers of parasangs are overrated, or corrupted by transcribers, there seems some difficulty in accounting for so many days.

Mr. Ainsworth makes the Greeks cross the Araxes *below* its junction with the Arpa-su, march up into Georgia to the latitude of Tiflis, then suddenly turn about and march back again, and cross the Arpa-su *from east to west*. This hypothesis is more improbable than any explanation which confines their fourteen days march to the country between the Phasis and the Harpasus. If they had thus grossly missed their way, and been obliged to turn about, and retrace their route, it is likely that Xenophon would have mentioned it: but the circumstance which makes it clear that the Greeks did *not* cross the Araxes below the junction of the Arpa-su (if these rivers are rightly

identified with the Phasis and the Harpasus) is that the Araxes or Phasis, according to Xenophon, was one hundred feet broad, and the Harpasus four hundred (c. 6, § 4, and c. 7, § 18).

Major Rennell was under the same mistake as Mr. Kinneir and Mr. Ainsworth, that of supposing that the Greeks marched seven days after the guide ran away from them before they reached the Phasis. (*Illustrations*, p. 238.) This error, and the difficulties of the succeeding part of the narrative, which are greatly magnified by it, induced him to give up all hope of tracing their route between the desertion of the guide and their leaving the Harpasus. He conceives that they lost their way, and wandered up and down, and that no account can be given of them: and he writes with this caution at the same time that he furnishes the most valuable geographical data respecting the country within which their wanderings lay. This part of the *Illustrations* is particularly worthy of the attention of the student.

Rennell, however, has probably fallen into a further mistake in thinking that the Greeks did not cross the Harpasus; for this seems to be his opinion. He supposes that they came to the river between its conflux with the Araxes and the conflux of the river of Kars with the other streams that form it, and then turned back from it towards the west; so that their subsequent marches for four days were still between the Harpasus and the Phasis or Araxes; and he is inclined to identify the city of Gymnias (IV. 7, 19) with a modern town on the latter river. Xenophon certainly does not say distinctly, that they *crossed* the Harpasus, but his language implies it. He says, "After this the Greeks arrived at the river Harpasus, which was four hundred feet broad. Thence they marched through the country of the Scythini, &c." (IV. 7, 18). He does not say that they did not cross it, and the notice of the breadth of the river is not much to the purpose unless they did cross it; and besides, he uses the very same language with respect to rivers which were certainly crossed. (See I. 4, §§ 9 and 19; and IV. 4, §§ 3 and 7.)

But, if they crossed it, it was probably the branch called the river of Kars which they crossed, not the stream below the junction of this branch with those to the east of it; otherwise, we should have them still persevering in their mistaken easterly course; and they would have had to cross the

eastern branch on their way back towards the west. In crossing the river of Kars they would be going northward; and if they then turned westward, they would fall in with no considerable river till they came to the Apsarus or Shoruk, which accords with Xenophon's narrative; the Shoruk being identified with the river of the Macrones.

After examining all the circumstances of the story, if we suppose the Greeks to have crossed the Phasis at the point which Rennell indicates, near the modern bridge of Kobankupri, or perhaps even nearer to its source; and then, in consequence of their confusion between the two rivers Phasis, to have turned eastward, and marched seven days along its northern bank, and even when they left the river to have inclined but little towards the north, and to have reached the Harpasus about the junction of the river of Kars with the other branches, thus traversing the diagonal of the space between the Araxes and the Arpa-su, we assign them a march, which, in winter, through an unknown country, and in the presence of an active enemy, might well occupy the *time* given for it. The time is twenty-one days; and the distance from point to point in a straight line, if the Greeks had not kept to the river-side for the first seven days, would be about 120 miles. If we admit, therefore, a very reasonable amount of deviation from the direct course, and allow that the length of the days' marches has either been overrated by Xenophon, or exaggerated by errors of his transcribers, the difficulties seem to be removed.

The problem which remains is to fix the position of the city of Gymnias north of the river of Kars.

HENRY MALDEN.

IV.

ON THE EXISTENCE OF A NATION BEARING THE NAME OF *SERES*, OR OF A COUNTRY CALLED *SERICA* OR *TERRA SERICA*.

The following train of thought presented itself to the writer upon the perusal of Mr. James Yates's learned and interesting work, entitled *Textrinum Antiquorum; or, an account of the art of weaving among the ancients.* With scarcely a single exception, the facts and references are supplied from that work; so that to the author of the present paper nothing belongs beyond the reasoning that he has applied to them. This statement is made, once for all, for the sake of saving a multiplicity of recurring references. The negative assertions, as well as the positive ones, are also made upon the full faith in the exhaustive learning of the writer in question.

Now the conviction that is come to is this, that no tribe, nation, or country ever existed which can be shewn to have borne, either in the vernacular, or in any neighbouring language, the name *Seres*, *Serica*, or *Terra Serica*, or any equivalent term; a conclusion that may save some trouble to the inquirers into ancient geography. The country where *silk* was first cultivated forms a true geographical problem. The nation called *Seres* has never had a specific existence under that name. Whence, then, originated the frequent indications of such a nation, occurring in the writings of the ancients? The doctrine founded upon the facts of Mr. Yates, and laid down as a proposition, is as follows.

That the name under which the article *silk* was introduced to the Greeks and Romans wore the appearance of a Gentile adjective, and that the imaginary root of the accredited adjective passed for the substantive name of a nation. Thus in the original crude form, *seric*, the *-ic* had the appearance of being an adjectival termination, as in *Medic-us*, *Persic-us*, &c.; whilst *ser-* was treated as the substantive name of a nation or people, from whence the article in question (*i. e.* the *seric* article) was

derived. The *Seres*, therefore, were the hypothetical producers of the article that bore their name (*seric*). Whether this view involves more improbabilities than the current one will be seen from the forthcoming observations.

1. In the first place, the crude form, *seric*, was neither Latin nor Greek, so that the *-ic* could not be adjectival.

2. Neither was it in the simpler form, *ser-*, that the term was introduced into the classical languages, so that the adjectival *-ic* might be appended afterwards.

3. The name in question, whatever might have been its remote origin, was introduced into Greece from the Semitic tongues (probably the Phœnician), and was the word שרי׳ק in *Isaiah*, XIX. 9, where the ק׳ (the *-ic*) is not an adjectival appendage, but a radical part of the word. And here it may be well to indicate that, except under the improbable supposition that the Hebrew name was borrowed from the Greek or Latin, it is a matter of indifference whether the word in question was indigenous to the Semitic languages, or introduced from abroad; and also, that it is a matter of indifference whether *silk*, as the article *silk*, was known in the time of the Old Testament or not. It is sufficient if a term afterwards applied to that article, was Hebrew at the time of Isaiah. Of any connection between the substance called שרי׳ק and a nation called *Seres* there is, in the Semitic tongues, no trace. The foundation of the present scepticism originated in the observation that the national existence of the Seres coincided with the introduction of the term *seric* into languages where *-ic* was an adjectival affix.

As early as the Augustan age, the substantive *seres* appears by the side of the adjective *sericus*. In Virgil, Horace, and Ovid the words may be found, and from this time downwards, the express notice of a nation so called is found through a long series of writers.

Notwithstanding this, it is as late as the time of Mela before we find any author mentioning, with detail and precision, a geographical nationality for the Seres. "He [Mela] describes them as a very honest people, who brought what they had to sell, laid it down and went away, and then returned for the price of it." (Yates, p. 184.) Now this notice is any thing rather than definite. Its accuracy, moreover, may be suspected, since it belongs to the ambiguous class of what may be called

convertible descriptions. The same story is told of an African nation in Herodotus, IV. 169.

To the statement of Mela, we may add a notice from Ammianus Marcellinus of the quiet and peaceable character of the Seres (XXIII. 6), and a statement from the novelist Heliodorus, that, at the nuptials of Theagenes and Chariclea, "*the ambassadors of the Seres came, bringing the thread and webs of their spiders.*" (*Æthiop.* X. p. 494, Commelini.)

Now, notices more definite than the above of the national existence of the Seres, anterior to the time of Justinian, we have none; whilst subsequently to the reign of that emperor, there is an equal silence on the part both of historians and geographers. Neither have modern ethnographers found unequivocal traces of tribes bearing that name.

The probability of a confusion like the one indicated at the commencement of the paper, is increased by the facts stated in p. 222 of the *Textrinum*. Here we see that, besides, Pausanias, Hesychius, Photius, and other writers give two senses to the root *ser-*, which they say is (1) a *worm*, (2) the *name of a nation*. Probably Clemens Alexandrinus does the same: *νῆμα χρυσοῦ καὶ σῆρας Ἰνδικοὺς, καὶ τοὺς περιέργους βόμβυκας χαίρειν ἐῶντας*. A passage from Ulpian (*Textrinum*, p. 192) leads to the belief that *σῆρας* here means *silk-worm: Vestimentorum sunt omnia lanea, lineaque, vel serica, vel bombycina.*

Finally, the probability of the assumed confusion is verified by the statement of Procopius, *αὕτη δὲ ἔστιν ἡ μέταξα, ἐξ ἧς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ἕλληνες μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν, τανῦνδε Σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσι.* (*De Bell. Persic.* I. 20.)

Militating against these views, I find little unsusceptible of explanation.

1. The expression, *σήρικα δέρματα*, of the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, means *skins from the silk country.*

2. The intricacy introduced into the question by a passage of Procopius is greater. In the account of the first introduction of the silk-worm into Europe, in the reign of Justinian, the monks who introduced it having arrived from India, stated, that they had long resided in the country called Serinda, inhabited by Indian nations, where they had learned how raw

silk might be produced in the country of the Romans. (*Textrinum*, p. 231.) Irrespective of the explanation, this is so much in favour of the root *Ser-* being Gentile; but at the same time so much against the *Seres* being Chinese. Sanskrit scholars may perhaps adjust this matter. The *Serinda* is probably the fabulous *Serendib*.—(See Walter Scott's *Search after Happiness*.)

3. In the countries around the original localities of the silk-worm the name for *silk* is as follows:

In Corean	...	...	*sir.*
Chinese	...	...	*se.*
Mongolian	...	...	*sirkek.*
Mandchoo	...	...	*sirghe.*
Armenian	...	...	*cheram.*

The question that this complicates is not the question as to whether *Ser-* was the name of a nation (since against that notion it militates); but the one whether שרים was indigenous in the Semitic languages.

Upon the whole, it is the conviction that a nation called *Seres* had no geographical existence.

* * * * * *

The writer now turns from the present question to the very different subject of the Affghan or Pushtoo vocabulary, inserted in the *Classical Museum*, Vol. I. 270, 271; premising that his remarks are most cursory.

The dialect in question is closely akin to the Eastern Pushtoo of Elphinstone. Among the few names of the different parts of the body, the following words are common to the two vocabularies, so that the comparison may serve as a measure for the difference and affinity between the two dialects.

ENGLISH.	PUSHTOO OF HARRIS.	E. PUSHTOO OF ELPHINSTONE.
nose	pazh	pozu.
tooth	ghakh	ghakh.
ear	gwazh	ghugh.
foot	pakhi	khpu.
hair	chinna	whektu.

With the Indo-European languages around, less generally known than the Persian and Hindoo, there are various miscellaneous affinities:—

ENGLISH.	PUSHTOO.	INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES OF THE COUNTRIES AROUND.
brow	makh	muk, *Dangri*, *Purbutti*.
ear	gwazh	gheh, *Kurd*.
nail	nukh	nanyok, *Kurd*.
—	—	nahun, *Balooch*.
foot	pakhi	panjak, *Balooch*.
—	—	paie, *Cashmeer*.
—	—	pong, *Chitral*.
—	—	pah, *Dangri*.
—	—	payam, *Pushye*.
—	—	peo, *Kurd*.
heart	sre	serdul, *Kurd*.
—	—	hurdi, *Chitral*.
face	khwatar	—
cheek	—	kallak, *Brahuiki*.
knee	urún	kareem, *Pushye*.
head	sar	sich, *Dangri*.
finger	gut	angoost, *Kurd*.
star	sutor	istar, *Brahuiki*.

Over and above the numerals, the words found in Harris's vocabulary and the Indo-European tongues of Europe are numerous and evident. Such, amongst others, are

father	palar	pater, &c.
mother	mor	mater, &c.
brow	makh	?mug (*vulgar English*).
nose	pazh	?pug (*ditto*).
nail	nukh	ὄνυχ-ς.
foot	pakhi	ped-s.
heart	zre	srzde, Slavonic.
tear	zira	?tear.
star	sutor	ἄστηρ.
fire	'or	πῦρ.
winter	zami	χείμων.
door	durwaza	θύρα.
cow	gau	cow.
great	luk	long-us.
thin	dangar	ten-uis.
young	zawán	juven-is.
new	nau	nov-us.
middle	manz	med-ius.

The numerals are remarkable for appearing in almost their simplest form. This may be seen by comparing *yau* with *unus*,

in Latin, or *eka* in Sanskrit; *owwa* with ἑπτα, *septem*, and *seven*; *na* with *novem* and *nine* (*nigun*); *las* with *decem* and *ten* (*tigun*, *taihun*). *Yaulas* = 11, and *dwelas* = 12, correspond with the ἕνδεκα and δώδεκα of the Greeks, rather than with the *e-leven* and *tw-elve* of the Gothic nations. The formation of the multiples of *ten* is apparently anomalous; *der-as* = 30, *sul-wekht* = 40, *pinz-ost* = 50, *ashp-etah* = 60, *duw-ed* = 70. Here, as the last syllable coincides in power with our termination *-ty* (*for-ty*, *fif-ty*, &c.), it is easy to see that the representation is not constant. The sign of ordination is *-am*. This, and this alone, is added to the cardinal form.

one, *yau*.	*yaw*am, first.
five, *pinz*.	*pinz*am, second, &c.

This *-am* is the *-im* in *septimus* and the *-ομ* in ἑβδομος.

Either from non-development, or from degeneration, the Pushtoo forms in this department are exceedingly uncomplicated.

Of the letter-changes, the most remarkable are (1), *s* = *k* and *g*; as *las* = δεκ-α; (2) *l* = *t* and *d*; as *las* = δεκ-α, *salor* = *quatuor*, *palar* = *pater*.

R. G. L.

V.

A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY. Edited by Dr. Wm. Smith. Vol. I. London, 1844. (Taylor and Walton.)

The want of a work like the present, on the biography, mythology, and literature of Greece and Rome, has long been seriously felt. The facts, not only of a science, but often of a life, lie dispersed in many volumes, which the student may want time or opportunity to consult, even if he knows where to search for them. Even to the more advanced scholar, a convenient and trustworthy book of reference is invaluable. This Dictionary, embracing, in a comparatively small compass, a vast amount of information, and copious references to all the best modern sources, will, we confidently anticipate, prove of the highest utility to all who are interested in the study of antiquity.

A subject so extensive could be satisfactorily treated only by the united exertions of many writers. From the list prefixed to the present volume, it appears that nearly thirty scholars have contributed to its pages. The position of all of them in the classical world affords a sufficient guarantee for the value of their contributions; whilst the acknowledged ability displayed by the editor, Dr. Wm. Smith, in a publication of an analogous character (*The Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*), proves him to be eminently fitted for the superintendence of such a work. But there is one feature in this list of names which cannot but give the work an additional value. It would be absurd at this time to undertake such a publication without a copious use of the materials provided by the industry of German philologers, who have so much outstripped the rest of Europe in the ardent prosecution of all researches connected with classical literature. Not only are most of the English contributors well acquainted with German philology, but the list presents the names of several distinguished native *alumni*, or professors of German universities.

The work embraces a period beginning from the earliest mythological times, and ending with the fall of the Western Empire, in the year 476, and that of the Eastern Empire by the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. In Greek subjects the Greek names are retained. There is an account of the Roman families, which is quite a new feature in a work of this sort; and many of the articles are illustrated with very neat engravings of coins and medals. The lives of Christian writers are given, but with a careful avoidance of all questions of polemical divinity. The most prominent feature, however, is the elaborate way in which the lives of the Greek and Roman authors have been treated. This is a very judicious arrangement, not only because such lives lie more out of the track of students than the ordinary topics of history and mythology, but because it will go very far towards supplying a serious deficiency in this country—a good history of Greek and Roman literature. The accounts which are given of the works of the different ancient authors, and of the literature connected with them, are admirably executed, and cannot but prove of the highest utility. Those appended to the life of Aristotle, by Professor Stahr, of Cicero, by Professor Ramsay, and of Arrian and of Demosthenes, by Dr. Schmitz, deserve to be particularly mentioned. On this head the learned editor will perhaps permit the suggestion that, before the work is completed, he should cause concise accounts to be drawn up of the rise and progress of the various branches of ancient literature. These would form, as it were, connecting links to the different lives, and enable the student to acquire a clear idea of the literary history of antiquity.

It would of course be impossible to enter into any thing like a detailed criticism of the work under notice. It is the composition of a committee of authors, and a minute review of it would require a committee of critics. Many of the lives, however, are so elaborate as to deserve a separate notice, and to a few of these we must confine ourselves.

Skilfully to abridge a life, and to place before the reader all those circumstances, yet those only, which are necessary to enable him to form a just notion of the individual, is a work of no ordinary labour and judgment. Though, to a superficial observer, the results may not appear so striking and significant as those of a regular and detailed biography, yet the process to be gone through by the writer is almost equally laborious,

whilst the demand upon his judgment and discrimination is much greater. Not only must he have a complete view of all the circumstances, but the tact to select those only which are necessary to his purpose. Now this purpose, we apprehend, is to convey a correct notion of character. Unless we form such a notion, the events of a life are but a string of isolated facts, that hang together without meaning or rational coherence. But this once acquired, every thing arranges itself in its proper order; events no longer seem the result of chance, but the necessary consequences of temper and principles; and from the contemplation of their connection, a useful lesson may be drawn for the conduct of life. The very merits of the work before us render it necessary that care and attention should be bestowed on the summaries of character, since it will become the text-book of the young student, and the source whence he will draw his first notions of the great men of ancient times.

One of the most elaborate lives in the Dictionary is that of Cicero, by Professor Ramsay, which seems to have been modelled in a great measure on that of Professor Drumann, in his recently published work, the *Geschichte Roms.* In all antiquity there is not, perhaps, a character respecting which such opposite notions have been entertained as that of Cicero. Whilst by one class of writers the great Roman orator has been described as a model of wisdom, goodness, and patriotism, by another he has been represented as a vain, cowardly, and selfish wretch, without a single grain of truth or honour. At the head of the former class stands Middleton, whose *Life of Cicero,* though fairly amenable to the charge of partiality, will be always read with pleasure by those who can appreciate elegant scholarship, a gentlemanly tone of feeling, and the graces of English composition. Scarcely had his work appeared, but it was assailed from various quarters and on different grounds. Tunstall and Markland exerted their critical abilities to disprove the genuineness of certain portions of Cicero's writings from which Middleton had drawn some of his materials; namely, the four orations delivered after his return from exile, and the letters to Brutus. The doubts which they raised were subsequently supported by many eminent scholars, and, among them, by the great sceptic, Wolf. The question remains to this day undecided, though the tendency at present seems to be to restore at least some of those writings. Colley Cibber contro-

verted Middleton's Life, on more general grounds, in a heavy quarto; and afterwards Melmouth, in the notes to his translation of Cicero's Epistles. In short, since Middleton's time, the prevalent opinion among scholars seems to have been unfavourable to Cicero. We must note, however, an eminent exception in the person of the illustrious Niebuhr, who was an unqualified admirer of Cicero, and who pays a high compliment to Middleton's work[1]. Drumann, in his book before alluded to, shews himself a determined enemy of Cicero's character. His work is highly valuable, as containing a collection of every passage at all bearing on the subject; but we cannot help thinking that this very minuteness detracts sometimes from the pleasure which the biography might be calculated to afford as a work of art, whilst the perseverance with which, through nearly three hundred pages employed in the minute dissection of Cicero's character, every circumstance is interpreted to his disadvantage, is, we had almost said, repulsive. This constant determination to see every thing on the worst side, has, we think, sometimes betrayed the author into inconsistencies. Thus, for instance, Cicero is represented as such an habitual dissembler, that even where he acknowledges that his judgment has been at fault, his motive for so doing was only to avoid some heavier reproach. ("Man darf ihm nicht immer glauben, wenn er behauptet, dass er falsch gesehen oder in der Verblendung gehandelt habe; er wollte dadurch oft schimpflichern Vorwürfen entgehen," u. s. w. Vol. VI. p. 540.) Yet, with all this slyness, he was stupid enough to be the continual dupe of others; and Drumann devotes two sections to the illustration of the deceptions practised on him by pretended friends, and of the false views which he took of society and politics. Thus he is charged with a union of opposite qualities seldom or never observed in life; and even admitting the latter of these charges to be true, we cannot but think it rather hard that, when Cicero himself becomes aware of his failing, and accuses himself of it, his doing so is immediately ascribed to sinister motives. The historian shews strong reluctance to allow him a single good quality. Not only was he a vain, interested, self-seeking person, cruel, ungrateful, a coward, and a liar, but even his advancement in life and his conduct during his consulship are represented as the

[1] See Niebuhr's *Lectures*, Vol. II. pp. 22. 30. 112, &c.

work of passion and chance rather than of merit. ("Die Leidenschaft, das Vertrauen zu seiner Beredtsamkeit, und *ein Ereigniss* unter seinem Consulat, brachten ihn in eine falsche Stellung; dadurch erklärt sich das Meiste. Im Dunkel geboren sehnte er sich unter den Ersten zu sein; die Redekunst diente ihm zum Hebel, und der Sieg über Catilina, *wie auch errungen*, begründete in ihm den Wahn, dass er der Erste unter den Ersten sei, und mit einem stolzen Selbstgefühle ungemessene Ansprüche." Vol. VI. p. 533.) Paterculus, though often an abject flatterer of Augustus, was just and independent enough to render a nobler testimony to the character of Cicero, who, according to him, "omnia incrementa sua sibi debuit, vir novitatis nobilissimæ, et, ut vita clarus, ita ingenio maximus." (Lib. II. c. 34. 3.)

It is consistent that an author who takes so unfavourable a view of Cicero's character should, by a sort of moral perversion, be somewhat of an admirer of Catiline. There is a class of minds that are dazzled by extraordinary daring, in whatever cause exerted. In the uneducated this quality displays itself in an admiration of Jonathan Wild, Jack Sheppard, or any other of those heroes of the Newgate calendar, recently so popular amongst the higher and lower vulgar in this country; but it hardly becomes the dignity of an historian to confound the natural boundaries of right and wrong. Professor Drumann thinks that Catiline is a very calumniated person, and feels inclined to honour him because remorse for past crimes has—not led him to repent, but—urged him to commit more! ("Auch wird ihm Manches zur Last gelegt ohne erwiesen zu sein; und auf der andern Seite ehrt man ihn wieder durch die Vermuthung, eine heftige Angst, als Folge seiner Frevel, habe an der Verschwörung Theil gehabt, er habe noch mit dem Gewissen gekämpft, nicht längst sich mit ihm abgefunden." Vol. V. p. 391.) It appears, from a note, that this character is founded on Sallust's fifteenth chapter. But it is the modern historian alone that lavishes his respect on Catiline, for Sallust only says, "Namque animus impurus, Diis hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentem excitam vexabat. Igitur color ei exsanguis, fœdi oculi; citus modo, modo tardus incessus: prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat." A most striking picture of the effects of a guilty conscience, and not unlike some of the traits in Milton's

portrait of Satan—a personage, by the way, that may possibly be not without his admirers:

——— Care
Sat on his faded cheek—but under brows
Of dauntless courage—and considerate pride,
Waiting revenge.

It may be said, indeed, that if Catiline was really such a calumniated person, Professor Drumann's respect for him may not be so much thrown away. But in his attempts to prove this, we look in vain for the authorities with which he commonly loads his margin. He will not allow either Cicero's or Sallust's character of the conspirator to be a just one. They both hold him up as a scare-crow, in whose neighbourhood all virtue dies, like plants under the poison tree. The orator's motive for this was to excite increased admiration for himself. On the other hand, the historian did not so much mean to draw a strictly historical portrait, as a sort of abstract character, which should be, as it were, the image and epitome of the vice and degeneracy into which the Romans had fallen. (See Vol. v. p. 391.) This seems to us a new idea of Sallust's piece of historical painting, and we should have therefore liked to see it supported, if not by authorities, by at least some probable reasons. Yet, in another place, Drumann is anxious to recognize the authentic and historical character of Sallust's work in regard to Cicero's consulship; merely, we suppose, because it is generally considered to give rather an unfavourable account of it. ("Für diese Zeit seines Lebens sind die Nachrichten des Sallust von besonderer Wichtigkeit." Vol. v. p. 440.) But if we are to go for Catiline's character neither to Cicero nor Sallust, to whom shall we appeal? To Paterculus? To Appian? Neither of them drops a favourable word. Or to Cicero's calumniator, Dio Cassius? But even he (37. 30) makes a full acknowledgment of Catiline's guilt, not only against Cicero but against the state.

To enter into any general defence of Cicero would require a great deal more space than can be here afforded to the subject; nor, indeed, do we belong to that extreme class of his admirers who consider him to have been that moral impossibility—a faultless man. We think, however, that in estimating his character, a modification of those extreme opinions to which we have adverted would bring us nearer to the truth; and, in

the case of so eminent a man, we should prefer to see every circumstance which may admit a doubt given in his favour, rather than against him. Something, too, should be allowed for the times in which he lived. In that period of disorganization and domestic struggle, when all the worst passions and all the greatest faculties of human nature were enlisted in the pursuit of personal aggrandizement, it was difficult to be a great man, and still more difficult to be a good one; but to have been both together seems a pitch of virtue almost beyond belief. The operation of such causes may, we think, be easily traced in the life of Cicero. That his inclinations were naturally good is shewn not only by the uniform tendency of his writings and by his conduct in private life, but also by his public career when he was at liberty to follow the dictates of his own heart; as in his foreign provinces, and in the earlier part of his political life, before the growing power of Pompey and Cæsar had destroyed all liberty of action. Cicero's sensitive and excitable temper, increased, if not occasioned, by a sickly habit of body, but ill-fitted him to contend with men of such cool and determined nerve. His misfortunes, too, after his consulship, and particularly his exile, had a deteriorating effect upon his character. He had tasted the bitter fruits of misplaced confidence and too blind a reliance on human virtue, and the result was a lesson in worldly wisdom inculcated by the severest of masters —experience. Thus we find him writing to Lentulus (*Ep. Fam.* I. 7)—"Scribo tamen ut te admoneam quod ipse, literis omnibus a pueritia deditus *experiendo* tamen magis quam discendo cognovi, tu rebus tuis integris discas: neque salutis nostræ rationem habendam esse sine dignitate, neque dignitatis sine salute."

We have ventured the preceding remarks on Drumann's justly celebrated work, because in Professor Ramsay's Life of Cicero in the Dictionary, it is referred to as the best authority, which, so far as relates to the collection of texts, it undoubtedly is. Mr. Ramsay himself does not always go the length of Drumann; yet he is not entirely free from a bias against Cicero. Among other passages we think we can discern it in the following:

Speaking of Cicero's Sicilian quæstorship, Mr. Ramsay says: "Some of the leading weaknesses in the character of Cicero, inordinate vanity and a propensity to exaggerate extravagantly

the importance of his services, now began to shew themselves; but they had not yet acquired such a mastery over his mind as to prevent him from laughing at the disappointments he encountered. Thus we find him describing, with considerable humour, in one of his speeches (pro Planc. 26), the exalted idea he had formed at this period of his own extraordinary merits, of the position which he occupied, and of the profound sensation which his proceedings must have caused at Rome."

Cicero is here charged with a plurality of "weaknesses," yet the specifications adduced relate only to one; unless it can be shewn that "a propensity to exaggerate extravagantly the importance of his services" was something separate and distinct from vanity; which, however, from the subsequent illustration, does not appear to have been Professor Ramsay's intention. But passing this over, we are really at a loss to discover the conclusiveness of the inference which is drawn from that illustration. It is said that these weaknesses had "not yet," that is, about the time of his quæstorship, acquired a mastery over Cicero's mind, and the proof is, that he laughs at them in his oration for Plancius. From this we should have inferred that Mr. Ramsay holds Cicero to have pronounced that oration immediately after his return from Sicily; but on referring to his account of the speeches at the end of the Life, we find it assigned to its proper date, almost twenty years after that event. But then, what becomes of the argument? Instead of proving the biographer's point, it proves precisely the reverse, namely, that his vanity did not increase with his years. And this, indeed, seems most probable, and most consistent with the ordinary course of human nature; for vanity is not among those passions which grow stronger as we grow older. This failing of Cicero's is one on which his enemies are very severe. Yet after all, in a public man, it is one which may at least keep him from worse.

A little further on, Professor Ramsay touches on a charge which has been frequently brought against Cicero, and which is indeed a very grave one;—his defending, or at least being willing to defend, Catiline, his intended competitor for the consulship, against the indictment for extortion in his African province. "The latter (it is said) was threatened with a criminal prosecution, and it is amusing to observe the lawyer-like coolness with which Cicero speaks of his guilt being as clear as the

sun at noon-day, at the same time indicating a wish to defend him, should such a course be for his own interest, and expressing great pleasure at the perfidy of the accuser (who was ready to betray the cause), and the probable corruption of the judices, a majority of whom, it was believed, might be bought over." Professor Ramsay, however, does not think that Cicero really did defend him. On this point Drumann goes a step further, and holds that Cicero actually pronounced a speech in Catiline's favour. As his account of the whole affair is more elaborate than that in the Dictionary, we shall here insert a translation of it. (Vol. v. p. 410.)

"Shortly afterwards another embarrassment arose. In the previous year legates from Africa had denounced to the senate the misdoings of the proprætor Catiline in their province; and he was now, at their instance, accused by P. Clodius of extortion. (Ascon. *in Corn.* p. 66; *Orat. in Tog. cand.* pp. 85 and 93; Cic. *pro Cæl.* 4; *Sull.* 18.) About the middle of July, Cicero declared it to be impossible that he should escape punishment; and then adopted the plan of canvassing, in conjunction with him, for the consulate of the year 63. His interest required the assistance of his formidable competitor. (*Ad Att.* I. 1.) The latter having unexpectedly requested him to become his advocate, he perceived that he could be injured only by a refusal. If he procured a favourable sentence, the patrician, with his distinguished party, was at his devotion; if not, then no other consequence followed but what he had before desired. He therefore consented. In order to his further security Catiline bribed his accuser, and in challenging the judices, retained, with the full consent of Clodius, such only as he wished. (*Ad Att.* I. 2.) It forms part of an advocate's calling that he must sometimes speak against his convictions. Cicero was now prepared to defend a man who had murdered his relation Gratidianus and other citizens; who had formed a criminal connection with the sister of his wife, or at least implicated her in a disgraceful investigation; who, it was known, had threatened the lives of the consuls and of many senators, and whose practices were notorious to all Rome as well as to himself, notwithstanding that he has asserted the contrary. (*Pro Cæl.* 6; *pro Sulla*, 29.) He was not only prepared to avert from him the consequence of a crime which, in his actions against Verres, he represents as inexpiable, but was even

pleased that other crimes were added to it; a secret understanding between the accuser and the accused, and, as his words but too clearly shew, the corruption of a portion of the judices. (Q. Cic. *de Pet. Cons.* 3.) Such were his thoughts and inclinations, and so he wrote; because nothing appeared to him irregular which might serve as a means to obtain the consulate. In estimating his moral worth, it is perfectly indifferent whether he executed his purpose or not. There is, however, not the slightest ground for doubting that he did so; since he himself bears witness that his conscience, and his feelings of what was honourable and becoming, did not revolt at it, and that, therefore, the greatest obstacle was disregarded. The affair, moreover, had, upon his own shewing, been brought to a point whence there was no retreat without exasperating Catiline to the utmost, whom it was his policy not only to spare but to conciliate, and with him the numerous body of his friends. This is a stronger argument than Fenestella's testimony that he did defend him (Ascon. *in Tog. cand.* p. 85), and than Cicero's own remark that he did not defend him '*as consul.*' (*Pro Sulla*, 30, in.) Cicero's silence about the matter, and the fact of his not having afterwards accused Catiline of ingratitude, are no proofs to the contrary, as Asconius thinks (*loc. cit.*). The act was not of a sort that he would mention, nor would he commit the speech concerning it to writing; more particularly since the circumstance of his client's having soon afterwards conspired against the dominant faction and the saviour of the Republic, would have justified the reproach of short-sightedness or interested motives."

There is a great deal of force in Drumann's remark, that, had the connection between Cicero and Catiline, as advocate and client, ever arrived at the point indicated in the second letter to Atticus, it is hardly possible but that he must have gone through with the defence; and it is still further strengthened, if we consider how short a time must have elapsed between the writing of that letter and the trial of Catiline. The date of Cicero's first letter to Atticus on the subject of his canvass, is about the middle of July, and in it he expresses his intention of going into Cisalpine Gaul in the September following for the purpose of soliciting votes; so that the whole affair of his undertaking the defence, making himself acquainted with the case, and then abandoning it, if he did abandon it,

must have been very sudden indeed. That Catiline, while entertaining so high an opinion of his abilities as an advocate as to intrust him, though a rival candidate for the consulate, with his case, should, after exposing all its weak points, alter his mind and reject his services, is equally improbable. But great as is the force of this argument of Drumann's, his others are miserably weak. They are simply these two—Fenestella's testimony, and Cicero's expression (*pro Sulla*, 30) "*Consul non adfui.*" Asconius rejects Fenestella's evidence in the same breath that records it. The argument from Cicero's expression in the speech for Sulla is a very bad specimen of logic. "Cicero says that he did not defend Catiline when consul; *ergo*, he did defend him previously." To this passage may be opposed one from the speech for Cælius (§ 6), which is rather more conclusive the other way. Cicero there says, speaking of Catiline: "Me ipsum, me inquam, quondam *pæne* ille decepit, cum et civis mihi bonus et optimi cujusque cupidus et firmus amicus ac fidelis videretur[2]." Had the defence been actually made, Cicero would not here have said that Catiline had *almost* deceived him. Such an expression would have been equivalent to an open declaration that he had defended him, knowing him to be guilty. In the remarks made by Asconius on the subject, there are others besides those adduced by Drumann in the foregoing passage, but which he has passed over in silence. Thus Asconius very justly concludes that Cicero could not have delivered the following passage of the oration 'in Toga Candida' had he actually been Catiline's advocate. "Quid ego ut involaveris provinciam prædicem? nam ut te illic gesseris non audeo dicere quoniam absolutus es. Mentitos esse equites Romanos, falsas fuisse tabellas honestissimæ civitatis existimo: mentitum Q. Metellum Pium, mentitam Africam; vidisse puto nescio quid illos judices qui te innocentem judicarunt. O miser, qui non sentias illo judicio te non absolutum, verum ad aliquod severius judicium ac majus supplicium reservatum." (*Apud Orell.* pp. 86, 87.) Now with Asconius, we hold it to be impossible that Cicero, knowing that he should be answered by Catiline, as we learn from the same commentator that he was, should have been absurd enough to utter words like these,

[2] This passage has been sometimes cited to prove that Cicero at least entertained thoughts of defending Catiline; but there is nothing to shew that he was alluding to any such a subject.

which, had he participated in the defence, might have been so easily retorted upon him. The little tract, too, *De Petitione Consulatus*, addressed by Quintus Cicero to his brother, and written after Catiline's trial, shews plainly enough that his brother was not concerned in it, as he is advised to read the evidence[3].

We agree, then, in Drumann's view of the extreme improbability that Cicero should have abandoned the case after having once undertaken it. But instead of trying to escape from that improbability by assuming a still higher one, namely, that Cicero actually pleaded, we prefer to adopt another method, and to regard the letter upon which the whole story is founded as a malicious fabrication; and that it was so the letter itself bears very strong internal evidence. The very first sentence is so obscure and ænigmatical that many commentators, especially the more ancient ones, were deceived by it. "L. Julio Cæsare, C. Marcio Figulo consulibus, filiolo me auctum scito, salva Terentia." According to the usual practice of the Latin tongue, this would mean that Cicero's son was born in the actual consulship of Cæsar and Figulus; and thus it was taken by Fabricius in his *Life of Cicero*, apparently also by Sigonius in his *Fasti Consulares*, by Dr. Middleton and others, even down to the time of Dr. Heberden. Now was there ever a more preposterous way of announcing a birth? Imagine a man writing from London to a friend in Rome—"My wife has brought me a son in the year 1844!" But a moment's consideration might have sufficed to shew that this consulate cannot be the year meant; because it appears on the face of the letter that Catiline had not yet been brought to trial, whereas we know that he must have been tried and acquitted in the previous year, since we are told by Cicero (*pro Sulla*, 29), that Torquatus defended him when consul; and because, if he had not been acquitted in 689, he could not have been a competitor for the consulship in 690. A way out of this difficulty has however been found, by maintaining that Cicero meant consules designati; and Drumann (Vol. VI. p. 711, note 71) has adduced two passages (*Phil.* 13. 7, and 14. 3), in which Cicero calls the consuls elect simply 'consuls.' But when in those passages he

[3] Quid ego nunc tibi de Africa, quid de testium dictis scribam? nota sunt: et ea tu sæpius legito. (*De Pet. Cons.* § 3.)

mentions *four* consuls, it is evidently for the purpose of rhetorical amplification, nor can they with justice be pleaded as precedents for the same style in a familiar letter. It is said, indeed, that Atticus would have known the day of the consular Comitia, and that he would have readily inferred—we may rather say, guessed—from Cicero's letter that, by a singular coincidence, his son was born on that very day. But is it in this way that any man would communicate the birth of an heir? If he did not make a passing remark on the strangeness of the coincidence, would he not at least call attention to it by a more marked form of expression—eo ipso die quo—or something equivalent? So ænigmatical a way of writing is not at all in accordance with Cicero's general style; and such an event as the birth of an heir makes it still less probable that he would have used it; especially when we find how minute and particular he is in recording the birth of a grandson: "Tullia mea peperit XIIII Kalend. Jun. puerum ἑπταμηνιαῖον." (*Ad Att.* 10. 18.) The concluding sentence of the letter affords another very strong presumption against its genuineness—"quare Januario mense, ut constituisti, cura ut Romæ sis." The presence of Atticus being indispensable to Cicero's interest, the latter would of course mention the very earliest period for his friend's return to Rome. Yet Nepos tells us (*Vit. Att.* 4), that in his opinion that event took place in the consulate of Cotta and Torquatus, which would have expired at the date mentioned in the letter. Nepos, when composing the Life of Atticus, could not but have consulted the letters addressed to him by Cicero; which, though not at that time extensively circulated, were extant in sixteen books, and with which he was well acquainted. (*Att.* cap. 6.) Hence we may fairly infer, that when he consulted them this letter was not in the collection. The letter itself is exactly such as a calumniator would forge; just long enough to insinuate his venom, with the addition of a domestic trait to give it a colouring. His ignorance seems to have been equal to his malice. He mentions only the year in which Cicero's son was born, because he was afraid of betraying himself by putting the exact day, and makes Catiline the actual competitor of Cicero before he had been tried, whereas the latter only mentions him, in the previous genuine letter, as one who *would be* a competitor if acquitted. Calumnious forgeries against Cicero were so frequent, as to make it highly

probable that this letter was one. In proof of this it is only necessary to refer to the concluding words of Asconius's commentary on the speech *in Toga Candida;* which at the same time bear testimony to the general purity of Cicero's character[4]. "Huic orationi Ciceronis et Catilina et Antonius contumeliose responderunt, *quod solum poterant,* invecti in novitatem ejus. Feruntur quoque orationes nomine illorum editæ non ab ipsis scriptæ, sed ab *Ciceronis obtrectatoribus,* quas nescio an satius sit ignorare." The calumnies of Dio Cassius were probably derived from some of these sources.

The life of Julius Cæsar, by the editor, and that of Augustus, by Dr. L. Schmitz, are highly satisfactory. In the latter, Augustus is acquitted of the charge of military cowardice, which Niebuhr has, we think rather precipitately, brought against him. (*Lectures,* Vol. II.) It is true that he made no figure at Philippi; but this seems really attributable to his labouring at that time under a bad state of health. He had fallen sick at Dyrrachium, at the very outset of the campaign; and on his return to Brundisium after it, his illness had assumed so alarming a character, that not only was his life despaired of, but he was actually reported to be dead. (App. *B. C.* 5. 12. and 14; Dio, 47. 37. and 48. 3; Plut. *Ant.* 23.) Appian, by the way (*B. C.* 5. 3), attributes to this sickness the circumstance of Cæsar's having undertaken to divide the land assigned to the veterans in Italy. But whether that were so or not, it cannot be doubted that his return to Rome, whilst Antony still lingered in the eastern provinces, paved the way to his ultimate superiority. But to return. For acts of personal courage on the part of Augustus, we need only refer to his seizing the standard in the camp of Lepidus (Paterc. 2. 80. 3; Dio, 49. 12), and to the wounds which he received in the Dalmatian war. (Suet. *Aug.* 29; Dio, 49. 12.) But, such is the inconsistency of human nature, the same man who shewed no want of nerve in the field and in the cabinet, was a prey to the most abject terrors of superstition. He trembled at a dream, and though wishing to pass for a god, the bolts of the real thunderer struck him with dismay. For the purpose of averting them, he constantly wore the skin of the sea-calf about his person; and when any storm

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[4] Cf. Aul. Gell. XVII. 1, et ibi notata — Schol. Bobiensia in Orat. pro Sylla. (*Orell.* Vol. V. Part 2, p. 363.)

more severe than ordinary approached, he would hide himself in a cellar. (Suet. *Aug.* 90.) En Romanus rerum dominus!

Some of the earlier lives in the Dictionary are hardly so satisfactory as the rest, a circumstance which may, we believe, be accounted for by the intention originally entertained of completing the work in one volume. Amongst these may be ranked the lives of Æschylus, Aristophanes, and Antony; which, though no very serious faults can be alleged against them, are hardly adequate to the importance of the subjects. In the case of Antony, the result is a character rather too favourable. The more that is told of him the worse he will appear, and we here find no notice of his cruelties towards the legions at Brundisium, his forging of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, his proceedings at Ephesus, &c. Though it may not be safe to adopt Cicero's conclusion, that Antony had actually entertained thoughts of participating in Cæsar's murder (*Phil.* 2. 14), yet the discreet silence which he observed upon the occasion, and which seems to have saved his life, prevents us from thinking that he looked upon the design with indignation, though base and abject enough in his drunken orgies to offer Cæsar the diadem. Antony was one of those detestable characters which disgrace, not only Roman history, but human nature. We see in him the germs of those atrocious vices afterwards so fully developed in the worst Roman emperors. It is a poor apology that Plutarch offers for some parts of his conduct,—slowness of apprehension, a certain simplicity of disposition, and too much confidence in those around him. (*Ant.* c. 24.) That he was stupid enough may be readily believed. In fact, he was a man of the lowest intellect that ever played a great part on the world's stage. After the assassination of Cæsar the game was in his own hands, had he but known how to play it. Yet, with all his advantages of power and experience, he suffered himself to be beaten by a lad of eighteen; who, however, had one of the best political heads that ever grew on human shoulders. His illiteracy was extreme. In that age of cultivated intellect he could not even speak his own language with propriety. (Cic. *Phil.* 2. 8, 3. 9, 13. 19.) Though he affected the title of Philhellen, and more especially of Philathenæus, his way of patronizing the arts may be conjectured from a hint in Plutarch's sixtieth chapter; from which it appears, that he had caused his own name to be inscribed on the colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens. Even

his military talents were of a very mediocre kind. His greatest successes were procured for him by his generals, whom, in return, he was mean enough to make the objects of his hatred and envy.

The present volume of the Dictionary is particularly rich in the lives of the Athenian orators. Of the ten whose works were received into the Alexandrian Canon the lives of no fewer than five are here recorded; viz. Æschines, Andocides, Antiphon, Demosthenes, and Deinarchus. To these may be added that of Demosthenes's opponent, Demades, whose works were not selected by the Alexandrian critics, and of whom it is doubtful whether any genuine relic has been preserved. But upon so wide a field as Athenian oratory, though a tempting subject, our limits forbid us to enter. The life of Demosthenes, by Dr. Schmitz, is written in a just and liberal spirit. There is one circumstance in his life of which we have never seen any satisfactory explanation. Dr. Schmitz, like Bishop Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, Vol. VI.), follows the authority of Diodorus Siculus in assigning the sudden return of Demosthenes from Cithæron, when on his way as ambassador to Alexander, to a first embassy previous to the destruction of Thebes. On the other hand, the words of Plutarch, in his life of Demosthenes (cap. 23), allow no other inference but that this event immediately preceded Alexander's demand for the nine orators. (*ἀπεστάλη μὲν ὁ Δημοσθένης αἱρεθεὶς μεθ' ἑτέρων πρεσβευτὴς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον δείσας δὲ τὴν ὀργήν, ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἀφῆκεν. Εὐθὺς δ' ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξήτει πέμπων τῶν δημαγωγῶν δέκα μέν, κ. τ. λ.*) The account of the affair given in Æschines' speech contra Ctesiphontem (§ 161, Bremi.) seems, in its general context, to favour the same conclusion, and thus it seems to have been taken by Bremi, who, in a note, places the occurrence in the 2nd year of the 111th Olympiad. Arrian mentions only one embassy, and that after the destruction of Thebes. Authorities being thus divided, Plutarch's account certainly affords a more probable reason for Demosthenes's flight; as he might have got intelligence that Alexander meant to demand him, especially as it appears, from Æschines, that he had a friend at court.

The life of Aristotle, by Professor Stahr, is a very learned and elaborate performance. The groundlessness of the story founded on the authority of Strabo, that Aristotle's writings,

were not published till two hundred years after his death, when they were discovered by Apellicon of Teos, is here pointed out. This piece of literary history has met with implicit belief for many centuries; "and though at variance," says Professor Stahr, "with all reason and history, has been refuted and corrected only within the last ten years, by the investigations of German scholars." It was, we believe, first called in question by Brandis, in the *Rheinisches Museum* (1. Jahrgang), and therefore something more than ten years ago. The Ptolemies possessed copies of Aristotle's works, and they were studied by the Alexandrine critics, who admitted them into the celebrated canon. It is not, however, denied, that the story of Strabo may have some truth in it, and that several of Aristotle's works, as perhaps the *Problems* and *Poetics*, may have then come to light for the first time.

Speaking of the study of Aristotle in the sixteenth century, Professor Stahr says: "In England we see no signs of such studies, and it is only in Casaubon (in the preface to his edition of the works of Aristotle) that we meet with the notice, that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, under the guidance of the learned physician, Thos. Linacre (1524), and, with the co-operation of his friends, Latomer and Grocinius, a society was formed there, 'ad illustrandam Aristotelis philosophiam et vertendos denuo ejus libros.' But the undertaking does not appear to have been carried into execution."

Latomer and Grocinius are, we presume, meant for Latymer, bishop of Worcester, and Wm. Grocyn. That the study of Aristotle was not neglected in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, may be inferred from the fact that it was in his university lectures on the *Politics* that Smith, Cheke's friend and associate, in his endeavours to reform the pronunciation of Greek, first introduced his innovations[5]. That Aristotle was carefully studied in England during that period may be collected from other circumstances. Thus Sir P. Sidney's little treatise, the *Defense of Poesie*, published about the year 1581, contains many Aristotelian principles. Sidney adopts the Stagirite's fundamental tenet, that the essence of poetry consists in imitation (μίμησις), though he seems to allow the term a greater latitude than the Greek philosopher, since he admits

[5] See Strype's *Life of Cheke*.

verses of a didactic nature; observing of their authors, "whether they be poets or not, let grammarians decide." So too he follows Aristotle, in making poetry independent on verse, and admitting under the term the writings of Plato. "For all stands," he observes, "upon dialogues, wherein he feigns many honest burgesses of Athens speaking of such matters that, if they had been set on the rack, they would never have confessed them: besides his poetical describing the circumstances of their meetings; as the well-ordering of a banquet, the delicacy of a walk; and interlacing mere tales, as Gyges' ring, and others: which who knows not to be flowers of poetry did never walk into Apollo's garden." Sometimes, however, he ventures to depart from the authority of his master; as when he makes tragedy the constant distributor of poetical justice, and in his preference of the epos to tragedy. Wilson, too, in his *Art of Rhetoric*, published in 1553, drew many of his rules from Aristotle.

Professor Stahr has given concise but excellent analyses of Aristotle's treatises. In that of the *Poetics* we are happy to see a notion propounded in the second number of this Journal (Vol. I. p. 196) confirmed by so profound an Aristotelian; namely, that in that work Aristotle does not concern himself with the moral question, but treats of tragedy merely as a work of art.

We cannot agree with Professor Stahr in considering Hermann's edition of the *Poetics* as the best. In enumerating, too, the commentators on Aristotle, no mention is made of Twining, whom Mr. Hallam (*Literature of Europe*, Vol. II. p. 204) justly calls "one of the best critics on the *Poetics*." His labours, indeed, seem to be unknown or forgotten in Germany; yet a German version of his two preliminary Dissertations was, we believe, annexed to Buhle's translation of the *Poetics*, and Hermann alludes to his work in his notes.

We must now conclude; but in doing so must again recommend this excellent Dictionary to the notice of every student and admirer of ancient literature.

THOMAS DYER.

VI.

REMARKS ON PROFESSOR LONG'S PAPER ON THE LICINIAN *LAW DE MODO AGRI*[1].

The following remarks on the essay of Professor Long have been suggested to me by the desire of not appearing before the scholars of England as a person who, for his part, would weaken the good report of classical studies in Germany, by a superficial and hasty treatment of subjects connected with them. Should my remarks appear fit for a modest place in the *Classical Museum*, I should prefer this as a more amicable mode of defending myself, to inserting them in a German periodical.

In my attempt to defend my statements respecting *the lex Licinia de modo agri* against the criticism of Professor Long (in the *Class. Mus.* Vol. II. p. 256, &c.), I shall separate, as far as I can, the criticism of my mode of treating the subject, from that of my views themselves. As far as the former is concerned, Professor Long believes that he has found contradictions and absurdities in my account. It would not, perhaps, be modest to draw attention to the fact that such a charge—unless, indeed, one has to do with a person known to have no talent at all—frequently shares the fate of a stone which rebounds against the head of him who inconsiderately flings it at another. But I believe I am justified in expressing my surprise at finding that my expressions have been essentially altered in order to render them susceptible of such a charge, a stratagem, which in German journals is more frequent than I could wish for the honour of my country; but which I thought would not be resorted to in England, except in political party strife, in which unfortunately the object sanctions the means.

I am said to have asserted, that *the plebeians*, after the Gallic war, had been compelled by their necessities to sell the chief part of their land, which had got into the hands of the rich, who had suffered least by the recent events, and upon this Professor Long makes the observation: "when a man says, 'the

[1] Translated from the German MS. by Dr. L. Schmitz.

plebeians' he speaks of them without any distinction of rich or poor; and so we might fairly conclude that all the plebeians are meant, although he afterwards states, that there were some rich persons among them. But as he says that the land had got into the hands of the 'rich,' we presume that by the expression 'plebeians' he means the 'poorer plebeians.'" What I really did say is literally this (*Cursus der Institut.* I. p. 202): "*A great portion of the plebeians* had fallen into poverty and debts in consequence of the taking of the city by the Gauls." . . . . . "But two measures were required to afford relief to the impoverished." . . . . . "Further, *many plebeians* had been obliged to sell the greater part of their landed property, either in order to be able to pay their debts, or to obtain money without borrowing. Hence very extensive landed property had come into the hands of the *rich, especially the patricians,* who had suffered the least." Professor Long, I trust, will admit himself that his observation does not apply to my words.

I am further stated to have said: "that one object of the law was in the favour of those who were in a condition to recover *their* landed property by purchase." The absurdity of this view does not escape my opponent: he informs me very circumstantially, that perhaps the present owner of the land sold by a plebeian did not possess more than 500 jugera, and was consequently not obliged to sell any. He might have added, even if he possessed more, he might have sold as surplus any other pieces of his land, and in this case, too, the unfortunate plebeian could have done nothing. I, for my part, have nothing to say on this point; except that the absurdity is not mine, but belongs exclusively to my critic, and that I never dreamt of ascribing to Licinius the romantic idea of a recovery of the identical pieces of land by purchase. My words are: "in favour of those who were in a condition again to acquire landed property by purchase." I should, however, observe, that if Professor Long found my expression ambiguous, it would, undoubtedly, have been a more dignified course to adopt the rational interpretation, or at least to acknowledge its possibility rather than to give way to the temptation of writing a piquant refutation.

But he finds other inextricable contradictions in my supposition. "How had the plebeians (who twenty or thirty years before had been obliged by necessity to sell their lands), become

in such a condition," to recover their landed property by purchase? Were they perhaps those who even now were not able to pay their debts? "Further, on what terms were the poor to repurchase their land? how much were they to give for it?" As far as the last point is concerned it requires no extraordinary knowledge of political economy, to see that a law, which compelled a large number of landowners at once to throw a considerable quantity of land into the market, and at the same time excluded the richest landowners from becoming competitors in the purchase of it, had no occasion to assist the purchasers by reduction of prices and the like, and that, on the contrary, under such circumstances, there was no fear of the sellers demanding either too high prices, or obstinately requiring the purchasers to pay the whole sum at once and in ready money. It is Professor Long's own fault, if he does not think of a middle class of plebeians, standing between those totally ruined by debts and the richest of their order, who already possessed considerable landed property; and the law respecting the quantity of land, under the circumstances of the case, was intended to benefit that middle class. Niebuhr would hardly have defended in this way his view respecting the Licinian law, as being an agrarian law, and consequently referring exclusively to the ager publicus. I may add that Appian, who is otherwise inclined to describe the Licinian law as much like the Sempronian as possible, expressly recognizes this difference between them, that according to the latter the surplus was distributed by triumvirs, while the object of the former was, that the surplus should be sold in small lots to the poor. Mr. Long's censure of my supposition would have been applicable in a far higher degree to Appian, especially if we suppose with the Professor, that the Licinian law had to do only with public land, which the state, at all events, might have withdrawn from the possessor, and in reference to which it might have said to the poor (τοῖς πένησι): Do you want landed property? well then go and purchase it?

But I have said enough, perhaps already too much, of this part of the criticism on me, and I am anxious to come to the subject itself.

In that part of my history of the Roman law, which has induced Professor Long to write his essay in the *Classical Museum*, it was my object to represent the substance of the

Licinian law *de modo agri* in its historical connexion with the development of the Roman constitution.

According to the opinion prevalent before the time of Niebuhr, this law referred to landed property, and this view was coupled with the gross mistake, that the agrarian laws too applied to landed property. Niebuhr, in removing this mistake, went so far as to take the Licinian law also for an agrarian law, and to limit its application to public land exclusively. In both cases the question had been treated as if every law respecting the *ager*, and consequently that of Licinius also, must have been an agrarian law in that particular sense in which the classical writers commonly use this term. Hence the earlier critics believed that agrarian laws were laws respecting landed property, because the Licinian law was of this nature; and Niebuhr believed that the latter affected public land, because agrarian laws referred to public land.

Huschke came forward against this confusion of the two ideas, and he shewed the difference between a *lex de modo agri* and a *lex agraria*. His view, in which the earlier one is divested of its errors, appeared to me, although up to that time I had adhered to Niebuhr's opinion, to be in all essential points perfectly in accordance with the ancient authorities, and consequently I did not hesitate to abandon the view of Niebuhr.

When, in my work above mentioned, I came to this point, I thought it proper to refer to Huschke's treatise, on account of the positive evidence by which his view is supported, and, with the exception of a few modifications which I thought necessary, I confined myself to some additional support which his view receives from the political junctures of the time, a support which I did not think superfluous in a question controverted by means of the ancient authorities, and in an age which has given up the belief in a direct inspiration of the authors whom we reverence as classics.

The extent to which I thus made use of the labours of others, has led Professor Long to charge me with not having supported by any passage my view, that the Licinian law referred to private property, while he himself refused to look into Huschke's treatise referred to by me, although it was in his possession at the time when his criticism was printing. I shall now shew, that my view has not to fear this field of inquiry.

There may be three opinions respecting the Licinian law:

1, that it affected merely the *ager publicus;* 2, that it affected both the *ager publicus* and *privatus;* and 3, that it affected the *ager privatus* exclusively. The first, which is the opinion of Niebuhr, must be given up, if either the second or the third is correct.

Among the numerous passages of the Roman writers which mention the object of the Licinian law, there is not one which says that the *ager* PUBLICUS was the subject of the law. This argument might be deemed precarious, with regard to those who speak in general only of 500 jugera without any other addition, but it receives weight from the number of those who say *jugera agri.* This is the case, especially with Livy (see the passages quoted by Huschke; VI. 35, 36, 37, 40, 41; VII. 16; X. 13; XXXIV. 4), and with Livy this circumstance, as Huschke has observed, is of great importance, since when Livy speaks of agrarian laws, he is in the habit of not omitting to characterize the *ager* as *publicus* (e. g. II. 61; IV. 36, 51, 53, 57; VI. 5), whereas it is not customary to add the word *privatus,* when private property is spoken of, unless the addition is required by particular reasons.

We must have recourse to Greek writers in order to obtain the appearance of a testimony for the limitation of the Licinian law to the *ager publicus.* I admit to my opponent, that he has used the passages of Plutarch (*Tib. Gracch.* 8) and Appian (*Bell. Civ.* I. 7—9), as skilfully as they can be used. However, it is not their fault but his own, if his attempt has nevertheless remained unsuccessful.

Both authors speak in the first place of the Sempronian agrarian law; in order to explain this law, they go back to earlier times, and are thus led by the way to speak of the Licinian law, which Tib. Gracchus followed, as to the amount of land; it was not their object distinctly to state the difference between the two laws, even if they knew it: both laws agreed in their objects to give landed property to the poor, and this was sufficient for those two authors. Even their deficient conception of the means by which the two laws were intended to attain their end, that is, their mistake of believing that where the object is the same the means also must be the same, should not, perhaps, under these circumstances, be made too heavy a charge against them.

We must above all things distinguish between the bare sub-

stance of the law, such as it is stated by these authors, and the peculiar colouring which it receives from the particular connexion in which they mention it. The substance is the same as in the Roman writers; there is not a trace from which we can infer that the law, in its authentic form, contained the expression *ager publicus*. (Plutarch mentions the substance again and in the same manner *Camill.* 39.) But with regard to the connexion, both authors go back to earlier assignments of land made by the Roman people. The conquered land became partly private property, either by sale or gratuitous assignment, especially to colonists, (Plutarch mentions only the sale, which may be accounted for by the fact, that the assignment was made in the form of a (fictitious) sale, (see *Lex Thoria*, cap. 22, 25, 26, 33, ed. Rudorff; Vitruv. I. 4.), and partly remained *ager publicus*, and was given in possession and use, on condition of a certain vectigal being paid to the republic. The rich, it is said, not satisfied with receiving the greater part of this unassigned land, deprived the small proprietors, partly by purchasing their land and partly by expelling them by force, and they thus obtained possession of extensive tracts of land. (Plutarch describes this mode of proceeding, as if the *ager publicus* had been assigned at first only to the poor, and as if the rich afterwards had outbid them in the vectigal, and thus compelled them to quit their possessions. In this manner Plutarch has contrived to render the matter intelligible to himself; but we cannot call that a history, which is opposed to indubitable facts, and, to some extent, even to common sense.) Those Italiots (as Appian calls them) were in the end thrown out of work, since the rich employed slaves as field labourers instead of free men. It was found difficult to remedy this evil, and it appeared unjust to expel all at once so many persons from the estates (in whatever manner they may have been acquired) which they had covered with buildings, and cultivated for so long a period. But the law was promulgated, that no one should possess of this land more than 500 jugera.

Of this land,—which land can Appian mean? According to what precedes he must be thinking of the Italian land, of which the rich at the expense of the poorer Italiots had acquired such disproportionate quantities, partly by purchase and partly by force. But the question which alone is of interest to us here, viz. whether the law affected only the *ager privatus*,

or only the *ager publicus* (for the expression *of this land* includes both), or both, was on that occasion of no importance to Appian, he leaves it quite untouched, and hence this passage can be of no weight in the present investigation. Whoever asserts that Appian is here speaking of *ager publicus* only, must assert, that he was thinking only of the *possessio agri publici*, when he wrote about the land which the wealthy accumulated by purchase, and that consequently he believed that the Italiots either had no landed property, or that the wealthy refused to purchase it; both of which would be equally absurd. With regard to Plutarch, it must be admitted that little weight is to be attached to the opinion (for the substance of the law as a fact, is stated by him in the same manner as by the Roman writers) of an author who imagined that in the early times the Romans treated all their conquered land as a provision for the poor, and gave its enjoyment to the poor; who conceives that afterwards the rich outbade the poor, and that by this management, which after all affected only the *ager publicus*, they in a short time destroyed the free population of all Italy, and filled the country with slaves, who were kept by the rich upon their estates. Truly Courier was right in saying, that Plutarch would never have hesitated to change a well-established fact into its opposite, and a battle won into a battle lost, if it had afforded him an opportunity for inserting a few phrases, which he could not have introduced in a true historical account.

It has been remarked above, that if there is any thing credible in Appian's account, it is the distinction which he draws between the Sempronian and the Licinian laws. No agrarian law, either before or after, was without a clause ordering that the distribution of land should be made by commissioners; the Licinian law, if it were an agrarian law, would be the only one that has no such clause. But if it was not an agrarian law, if it affected only the *ager privatus*, it was quite natural for the lawgiver to confine himself to forbidding landowners the further possession of more than 500 jugera, and to leave it to them to find the means of disposing of the surplus. The Licinian law further is never mentioned by the ancients among the agrarian laws, whereas it is mentioned several times in connexion with *leges sumptuariae*. Now it is evident that the Romans of the good old times might look upon the acquisition of landed property to an extent which became injurious to a successful cul-

tivation, as a luxury; and it will be less easy to describe the avarice which prompted people to accumulate as much public land as possible, as luxury; no political radical has yet gone so far as to charge the aristocracy with excessive luxury, because they hunt after places and other emoluments which are in the gift of those who possess political power.

It now remains to examine the argument which has been derived from the word *possidere* which is used in connexion with the law. The Latin authors sometimes use this word: *ne quis plus quingenta agri jugera possideret*, &c., and sometimes the word *habere* (e. g. Cato in Gellius, VII. 3; Varro, *de R. R.* I. 2). Probably both words were combined in the law (*habere possidere*, as they were often put together in laws). In the same manner we find: *quodve tu meum habes, tenes, possides*, in the formula of a stipulation of the jurist Gallus Aquilius (L. 18, § 1. D. de accept.), and in Papinian (L. 49. § 1. D. adqu. poss.), *habere possidere* expresses possession, together with the *animus sibi habendi*, as opposed to a mere detention.

Nothing is so well known as that *possessio* is the technical term for the occupation of *ager publicus*, but it should at least be just as well known, that this is not the only legal meaning of the term. Niebuhr, who had not a professional acquaintance with the Roman law in all its details, although he knew far more of it than most historians and philologers think it necessary to know, had the weakness to suspect a direct reference to *ager publicus*, wherever in the Roman law he met with the word *possidere*. But as I am in a position where I may at least be presumed to know something of Roman law, I cannot abstain from advising others not to take the great reformer of Roman history as their guide in this point.

It is possible that the word *possidere* was used in the Licinian law, because it referred to *ager publicus;* but it might be used just as consistently if it referred to *ager privatus*. A Roman jurist, in explaining the law which released the possessors of immovable property from the security required in lawsuits, says: Possessor autem is accipiendus est, qui in agro vel civitate rem soli possidet, aut ex asse aut pro parte. Sed et qui vectigalem agrum possidet, possessor intelligitur. Item qui solam proprietatem habet, possessor intelligendus est, eum vero qui tantum usumfructum habet, possessorem non esse, Ulpianus scripsit, &c. (L. 15. D. qui satisd. cog.) We here

have a more political meaning of the word, in which it is used to express relations of ownership and the like; but, independent of this particular case, there are many others in which it is employed in a similar way; I refer to such of the fragments of Roman jurists as cannot be suspected of an improper use of legal terms. (L. 1. § 4. D. de ripa mun.; L. 7. D. de incend.; L. 18. § 15. D. de muner.) I need scarcely observe that in the combination of *habere possidere* no one will deny the possibility of private property being implied. But I think I can give an additional and definite reason why Licinius, even if his law referred to *ager privatus*, was obliged to choose this term in preference to one directly implying the right of ownership. By the latter he would at once have called forth an evasion of the law by means of a fictitious transfer of property in which persons retained the right of possession; and, moreover, he would have established a greater limitation than was necessary for his purpose. For it could not be his intention to prevent those who possessed 500 jugera from inheriting another landowner's property or a portion of it. In that case he would have denied to them at once any right or title to the surplus. This was avoided by using the expression *habere possidere*. The law, therefore, prevented a person who already possessed 500 jugera not from accepting an inheritance in land, but only from keeping it; it commanded him by sale or barter to exchange his surplus land for other things; and this he could not have done without having become proprietor.

From what has here been stated, I think we may say, with that certainty which is everywhere attainable under similar circumstances, that we are not justified in confining the Licinian law to the *ager publicus* exclusively, and that the accounts which have come down to us respecting its substance, as well as internal reasons, must lead an unbiassed person to the opposite opinion; but, at all events, the state of the case does not justify any one in charging a person who holds this opposite opinion with a careless and unfounded opposition to well-established facts.

A further question is, as to whether the Licinian law referred to both kinds of land, as Huschke supposes, or to the *ager privatus* alone, which appeared to me the more probable of the two. I have given a reason in my history of the Roman law, with the express remark, that it is merely a question of proba-

bility. Professor Long might consider that reason as insufficient, but he ought not (as he has done), contrary to my express caution, to have referred that reason to the first question, and he ought not to have represented the matter as if it had been my intention by that reason to upset the view of Niebuhr. He further commits a mistake of a singular kind: I had said that it was a matter of public interest not to allow the censors to let the *ager publicus* in small lots, which would have rendered difficult not only the official functions of the censors, but also the collection of the vectigal. Mr. Long now makes a parody on this argument by saying: "it was for the public interest, that somebody should not have the trouble of collecting the *vectigal* from small possessions." I could surely not foresee that in order to be explicit to a philologer, I ought to have expressly informed him, *who* should have had the trouble, and how closely this "somebody" of Mr. Long was connected with the republic. I should have considered such a piece of information as a presumption, nay, as an insult. I added, as a second reason, that the extension of the law to the *ager publicus* was also against the interest of the wealthier among the plebeians, who were its authors. Now my interpreter represents me, as if I had thereby meant to prove the public interest (my first reason). I may observe by the way that even in Festus the word *possessiones* contains the idea of *agri late patentes.*

In conclusion, I shall add a remark on the passage of Appian, where he mentions the clause of the law that the landowner should keep a number of freemen as inspectors: *οἳ τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάξειν τε καὶ μηνύσειν ἔμελλον.* Mr. Long thinks this passage obscure, but I do not. Whoever will look into the Scriptores rei rusticæ, will find, that Appian in these words describes the functions of the *villici, actores, operum magistri,* that is, the stewards and superintendents of the common labourers, whom Varro (*de R. R.* I. 17) comprises under the name of *praefecti.* These persons alone can be alluded to in Appian; to envy slaves their common employment as labourers could never have come into the head of even the very poorest among the Romans. But the alleged obscurity is only made use of to pave the way for a new explanation: Appian is made to speak of government spies who had to watch over the observance of the law, and the amount of the vectigal due to the

state. There is nothing new under the sun, but the supposition that Rome had such a system of *espionage* as early as the fourth century, is surely more than Solomon himself would have believed. It is true that system would have been followed up with a truly childlike *naïveté;* the landowners were obliged to keep their own spies! The Romans had a simpler method of collecting such revenues for the aerarium. In later times it was done by the publicani, and in the earlier times by the persons who had to pay them themselves, who farmed their own taxes, and settled with the censors the rent they had to pay, and paid it down at once, or gave security for it. This fact explains the circumstance that even in the case of hereditary *possessio* (Besitz), there might be a repetition of the leasing, and in the case of a tax fixed by law, there might be an increase in the tax.

G. F. PUCHTA.

Berlin, Dec. 7, 1844.

VII.

ON THE PASSAGE IN APPIAN'S CIVIL WARS (I. 8), WHICH RELATES TO THE LICINIAN LAW.

BEFORE I enter upon a further examination of this passage, I shall make a few remarks on what Professor Puchta has said with reference to one of my former essays in the *Classical Museum*, "The Licinian Rogation de Modo Agri or Agrorum" (Vol. II. p. 254).

The learned professor charges me with essentially altering his expressions, in order to render his account susceptible of the charge of contradictions and absurdities: he adds, that the stratagem is more frequent in German journals than he could wish for the honour of his country, and that he did not expect that it would be resorted to in England. I am sorry to hear that his countrymen are guilty of such a practice, and I should be still more sorry if he or anybody else should think me capable of resorting to a trick so pitiful and unprofitable. I deny that I have intentionally misrepresented Professor Puchta's meaning; and I rely on this my answer as the proof of my integrity in this matter. It is not always easy to state another man's meaning in such a way as to escape the imputation of misrepresenting it; and it is particularly difficult to avoid the imputation, when the thing to be stated is not clearly stated by the author, and instead of being founded upon evidence, is made up of assumptions, unsupported by evidence, and contradicted by it; and, further, when it involves, as I still believe Professor Puchta's explanation of the Licinian law does, both contradictions and absurdities. Nor is it always prudent for a man to begin his defence by charging his adversary with dishonest misstatements. Professor Puchta has misstated my meaning much more than I have misstated his, even according to his own shewing; but I do not, therefore, charge him with wilful misrepresentation. I simply believe that he has misstated my meaning, either through carelessness, or because he has misunderstood me. My statements and criticisms were honestly made, at least; nor am I afraid of the stone which I have thrown

rebounding against my head. Indeed, the extreme rarity of a stone thrown at one man's head rebounding against the head of the thrower, makes me feel quite safe against this accident, even if I had thrown a stone ignorantly and maliciously.

In p. 256 of my essay, I gave what I believed to be the substance of the beginning of Professor Puchta's argument: "After the Gallic war . . . . public pastures (saltus publici);" and I then translated (pp. 256, 257) the whole of the remainder of his argument. I should have done better if I had translated the first part also, for I should have avoided the imputation which he has attempted to fix upon me. I will, however, now translate that part of which I gave, as I believed, the substance, and the reader will then have before him the whole of Professor Puchta's statement, as it appears in the *Cursus der Institutionen* (I. 202, &c.). That part of the professor's remarks of which I before gave the substance, and of which I now give the translation, is as follows:—

"In consequence of the conquest of the city by the Galli, *a great part* of the plebs had fallen into poverty and debt. It seemed equitable that a calamity which had affected the state, should in its consequences be borne not merely by one part of the citizens; that impoverishment was to be considered as a burden arising from war, which ought to be remedied. In addition to this, the leaders of the plebs may have been impressed with the necessity of gaining over for the interests of the more distinguished (plebeians), by the prospect of a material improvement of their condition, the mass of the poorer members of them (the plebeian order), who were personally little concerned in the participation of the consulship. Two measures, however, were required in order to give effectual help to the impoverished (plebeians), on whom the consequences of the war had chiefly fallen. First, it was necessary to provide for the debts which were not yet paid; and this was done in such wise that the sums already paid in interest were deducted from the principal, and for the remainder three yearly times of payment were allowed. Secondly, *many* plebeians, in order to pay their debts, or to get money without borrowing, had been compelled to sell the greater part of their landed property, and thus there had come into the hands of the rich, *particularly the patricians*, who had suffered least, a very considerable amount of property in land. This ingens cupido agros continuandi (Liv. XXXIV. 4) which had seized the *rich, would* always have been dangerous

to the constitution, because the loss of landed property threw the mass of the plebeians out of that political position which was connected with the having of landed property; without a remedial measure, the degeneration of the plebs, which at a later time actually took place, could not even now have been delayed. To this was added that the former landowners could not hope to remain on the lands even as lessees or tenants (Pächter), or on like terms, and to find their support, since the rich had their lands cultivated by slaves. (Appian, *De Bell. Civ.* I. 8.) Small landowners were further injured by the large landowners keeping a considerable number of cattle, and, with their herds, excluding the small landowners from the use of the common pastures (saltus publici)."

If the reader will peruse this extract, and then proceed at p. 256 of my former essay (*Classical Museum*, Vol. II.), with the words "All this mischief," &c., he will see, as I have already observed, the whole of Professor Puchta's statements as they appear in the *Cursus*, &c. A comparison of my statement of the substance of Professor Puchta's views with this version, and his own statement of what the original contains, will shew how far I have deviated from his original words.[1] I stated (p. 256) that a *great part of the plebs*, according to Professor Puchta, had become poor. I then went on to state that the 'plebeians' had been compelled to sell the chief part of their land; whereas I ought to have said '*many* plebeians.' But this does not affect my argument (p. 278). I ought not to have omitted the word 'many,' and I did not intentionally omit it; but the insertion of the word 'many' does not in the least diminish the difficulty which I discover in Professor Puchta's words. He says that "a great part of the plebs had fallen into poverty and debt;" and there was to be some remedy for this. He then speaks of 'many plebeians,' who, in order to pay their debts, or to get money without borrowing, had been compelled to sell the greater part of their land. These, then, are a different set of persons from the *great part* of the plebs, who had fallen into poverty and debt; for these *many* were not in debt; they had sold the greater part of their landed property to pay their debts, or to get money without borrowing. Now, whether these persons, who were not in debt, were all the plebeians, or only many of

[1] There are two slight errors in the translation (Vol. II. p. 256), which Professor Puchta has not noticed; nor are they material. One is a printer's error, which is left uncorrected.

the plebeians, is immaterial for the purpose of my argument: they were persons who had sold the chief part of their lands to pay their debts, or to get money without borrowing; a description of persons which is just as applicable to those who are rich as to those who are poor, for persons rich in land may have the same kind of necessity for selling the greater part of their land, as persons who are poor in land, as we know by daily experience. I found a difficulty, and I still find a difficulty, when I read in Professor Puchta's statement of the '*great part* of the plebs' who had fallen into poverty and debt; and of the '*many* plebeians' who had not fallen into debt, but had avoided debt by sale of the greater part of their lands; and I cannot tell what particular class is meant, except that it was a class who had sold the *greater* part of their lands, and consequently had some left. I know nothing more of them, because I am told nothing more. When, then, Professor Puchta speaks of '*many* plebeians' who had avoided debt by selling the greater part of their lands, but had consequently some land left, I only infer that he means to call them poor, relatively at least, because they sold to the rich, or to persons richer than themselves; and I do not collect from his last remarks that my conjecture is wrong. In place of what I wrote (p. 279), 'that by the expression *plebeians*, he means the *poorer plebeians*,' I now substitute, 'by the expression *many plebeians*, he means *many poorer plebeians*.' So there were two classes of poor plebeians: one class in debt, and I presume without lands; and another class in debt, but still with some lands. He also says that there were 'richer plebeians.' Thus there were plebeians of three descriptions—poor and in debt; poor, but not in debt, and with some land; and 'richer plebeians.' For the whole of which I know no evidence, except the professor's own statement, and that is not enough.

I ought to have said that the lands which the 'many plebeians' sold, had come into the hands of the rich, '*particularly the patricians*.' I am chargeable with error for omitting these words, but it was not intentional. Professor Puchta means it to be implied that the patricians were not the only persons who had bought land which the plebeians had sold; but other plebeians also had bought land from their brother plebeians, who had sold it to avoid getting into debt. Professor Puchta does not distinctly assert that there was a 'rich'

class of plebeians who had bought lands of other plebeians: he leaves that to be inferred. Nor does he give any intimation of what proportion they might be of the whole number: but he does mean to say that the patricians were the chief purchasers, and this is a fact (I mean an assumption of his) for which in my statement I had not given him credit, and for which I make an apology. The reader may consider my former remarks as erased, and these put in their place.

As to the passage upon which I am charged with writing 'a piquant refutation,' I merely say that I misunderstood it. I ought to have translated it, 'to recover landed *property by purchase*,' not '*their* landed property.' The passage seems to me somewhat ambiguous, as I believe it is; but I mistook the author's meaning, for which also I offer him my apology. But I have something further to say about it hereafter.

Upon the difficulty which I raise as to the plebeians recovering landed property by purchase, and as to the terms on which they were to repurchase, Professor Puchta proceeds to give me a lesson in the elements of political economy, by informing me that if a considerable quantity of land were thrown into the market at once, and if the richest landholders were excluded from bidding for it, there was no fear of high prices, or of the purchasers being compelled to pay the purchase-money all at once. I who live in England do not want instruction in such elementary principles, and when I do want instruction in political economy, I shall not go to Germany for it; nor do I feel a bit the better reconciled to Professor Puchta's arguments, by his implied assumption, here and elsewhere, of his own superior knowledge on all matters that he refers to. I leave others to judge of his ability as a political writer by this essay of his. At present, I look only for ordinary consistency in what he says, and I do not find it. He now explains, that there was a middle class of plebeians, standing between those who were totally ruined by debt, and the richest of their order who already possessed considerable landed property; and that the law respecting the repurchase of land was intended to benefit that middle class. I accept the professor's present explanation of his meaning, and I follow it to its consequences. He has told us that a *great part* of the plebs had fallen into *poverty and debt;* it was not equitable that this impoverishment, arising from the war, should be borne by one part of the citizens; there

was to be a prospect of a material improvement in the condition of the *mass of the poorer plebeians:* two measures were necessary to this end; one measure was a law for the relief of debt; the other was for the 'many plebeians,' who were not in debt, but had sold the greatest part of their landed property to avoid debt; and he adds, that the loss of landed property threw the *mass* of the plebeians out of that political position which was connected with the having of landed property, and a remedial measure was necessary. Now the *mass* of the plebeians had sustained a loss (partial or total, he does not say which) of landed property; a *great part* were in poverty and debt. And what was the remedial measure, according to Professor Puchta? It was a remedial measure for the benefit of those persons who stood between those who were totally ruined by debt and the richest of their order. The relief for the *great* part of the plebs, for those who were *totally ruined* by debt, was, that they should pay their debts by three annual instalments, after deducting from the principal what had been already paid in interest. The benefit of buying the lands that were to be made so cheap by being thrown into the market all at once, and which might be got very low, perhaps for nothing, was intended for the middle class of plebeians, who were not totally ruined; and the *mass* of the plebeians, who were thrown out of their political position by the loss of landed property, were still to be without it. I assume that the 'mass of the plebeians' means the 'great part of the plebeians,' and if it does not mean them, I do not know what it means. Again, the law, says Professor Puchta, excluded the richest landholders from being competitors for the land, thus thrown into the market! He does not say who were the richest landholders. A landholder who had four hundred jugera could, according to Professor Puchta, buy a hundred jugera more. Any man who had less than five hundred jugera could buy such an amount as would make all his estate up to five hundred jugera. Again, the unlucky sellers, under the circumstances, *must* sell; for the law was positive as to the limitation of land, whether we consider it to be private or public land. Professor Puchta does not say that they must not sell immediately on the passing of the law, and I assume, therefore, that he means that they must sell immediately on the law being passed. If my assumption is wrong, I ask Professor Puchta to quote that part of the law

which regulated the time that the sellers were to have for disposing of their property. In his eagerness to shew that prices must be low, he adds, that there was no fear of the sellers obstinately demanding a high price or requiring ready money. In other words, he means to say that the sellers were compelled to sell for what they could get, and to sell on credit. Why, it would have been a simpler thing to say at once, that the state took all the surplus lands and disposed of them, and put the money into the ærarium. I may be excused if I decline taking lessons in my political studies from an authority who invents a string of historical facts, and yet invents so badly.

Professor Puchta adds, that my censure of his supposition would be more applicable to Appian, who states that it was the object of the Licinian law that the surplus land should be sold in small lots to the poor; especially, he adds, if I am right in supposing that the Licinian law had only to do with the public land. To this I reply, that it is not consistent with my principles of historical investigation to censure the evidence that I find on any particular matter, unless it involves some contradiction in itself. I have stated, in my former essay, that my object is to find out the meaning of the ancient writers, not to maintain that their meaning is right, or to censure it as wrong. I censure the modern expositor, who offers us his own inventions, instead of accepting the evidence that is before him.

With Professor Puchta I now say, "I have said enough, perhaps already too much, of this part of the criticism on me, and I am anxious to come to the subject itself."

Professor Puchta remarks: "According to the opinion prevalent before the time of Niebuhr, this (the Licinian law) referred to landed property, and this was coupled with the gross mistake that the agrarian laws too applied to landed property. Hence the earlier critics believed that agrarian laws were laws respecting landed property, &c." I request the reader to look carefully at this paragraph; I will mention two critics who have not shared 'the prevalent opinion.' Schweighäuser, in his note on Appian (*Civil Wars*, I. 8, ed. 1785), says: "Liciniam illam legem non ad quodvis agrorum genus, sed ad solum *publicum agrum* pertinuisse." Sigonius, near three hundred years ago, in his work *De Antiquo Jure Italiæ*, Venice, 1560 (lib. II. cap. 2, *De Coloniis*), gives a clear and consistent view of the notion of an agraria lex, and of the publicus ager. He

did not believe that the Licinian law referred to landed property; he did not couple with this the 'gross mistake that the agrarian laws also applied to landed property.' Niebuhr, therefore, had not to remove this supposed mistake as to the nature of Roman agrarian laws. Sigonius derived his knowledge from a careful study of the ancient authorities, of which he was a thorough master, and this will account for the clearness of his statements. As he follows Livy closely in his expressions, he uses the word Ager alone, just as Livy often uses it, but he thereby means public land, when he is speaking of agrarian laws. After stating that lands were divided among the Roman plebs, sometimes for the purpose of founding a colony, and sometimes without any mention of a colony, he adds: "Utrumque autem agrum multiplicem fuisse invenio, nempe aut de hostibus captum neque dum in publicum redactum, aut publicum populi Romani et a populo Romano possessum[2], aut publicum quidem, sed furtim a privatis potentibus usurpatum, aut denique publico ære dividendi gratia emptum. Ac reliquae quidem leges agrariæ omnes, quæ agros vel hostium vel publicos vel pecunia publica emptos dividebant, facile ac sine motu aliquo civitatis sunt perlatæ. Quæ vero privatos divites possessione pellebat ac plebem in agris nobilium collocabat, ea numquam sine maxima turbatione reipublicæ est promulgata. Quæ quidem a Sp. Cassio consule primum proposita, deinde quotannis fere per tribunos plebis jactata, ac semper a nobilium factione variis artibus elusa atque impedita, a L. Sextio, et C. Licinio tribunis pleb. comitia magistratuum habere prohibentibus ad extremum est perlata." Sigonius then proceeds to trace agrarian agitation, from the time of Spurius Cassius, the first promulgator of an agrarian law, to the time of Sextius and Licinius, of whom he says: "Legem Cassii agrariam tandem pertulerunt, ne quis plus quingenta jugera agri, centum majoris pecoris capita, quingenta minoris possideret, cujus inter alios Livius et Appianus testes sunt." I am not maintaining the *complete* accuracy of all that Sigonius says. I quote this to shew that he considered, and he correctly considered, the agra-

[2] To prevent any cavil against Sigonius, I add, that 'publicus ager a populo Romano possessus,' is good Latin, and that all public land which was occupied by individuals who paid a rent for it, was still a '*possessio* populi Romani.' I do not need to prove this.

rian agitation which was begun by Sp. Cassius, as receiving its consummation in the legislation of Licinius, the main object of which was to limit the amount of possession of public land. He read Livy carefully, and he came to the conclusion that every sound critic must come to who will follow his example.

Professor Puchta was led by Huschke's treatise to abandon Niebuhr's opinion of the Lex Licinia relating solely to public land; and he referred to it on account of the positive evidence by which it is supported. I affirm, and I have endeavoured to shew (*Classical Museum*, Vol. II. p. 307), that Huschke's view is contradicted by positive evidence. Professor Puchta adopted Huschke's views, with 'a few modifications,' one of which is, that while Huschke makes the law apply to both public and private land, Professor Puchta makes it apply to private land only. Such a modification appears to me to be a total change. Professor Puchta adds: "I confined myself to some additional support which his (Huschke's) view receives from the political junctures of the period, a support which I did not think superfluous in a question controverted by means of the ancient authorities, in an age which has given up the belief in a direct inspiration of the authors whom we reverence as classics." This is the key to Professor Puchta's method of investigation. He will make conjecture stronger than evidence. I repeat what I have said before in substance; Professor Puchta may be all right, and the ancient authorities all wrong; but I maintain that Professor Puchta's view is founded on his own conjectures, aided by some misinterpretation of the classics; my explanation is nothing more than what the classics say. If I thought them inspired, I must, consistently, think that the meaning which I give to them is also true; but I do not say that it is true, and I never said so yet. I care not whether they are inspired or not, nor whether any man believes in their inspiration or not. I shall not state my own opinions about the inspiration of any ancient writers; but I certainly do not believe in the inspiration of modern writers.

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Professor Puchta says: "Among the numerous passages of the Roman writers who mention the object of the Licinian law, there is not one which says that the ager publicus was the

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Professor Puchta speaks of Plutarch's account of the public land in a way that would lead a person who had not read my essay (*Classical Museum*, Vol. II. p. 276, &c.) to suppose that I set some value on Plutarch's statement. I said that "the passage (Plutarch, *Tib. Gracchus*, 8) is only given to shew to what land Plutarch supposed that the agrarian laws of Gracchus and Licinius applied." I also added (p. 278), "It is not our

purpose to criticize these passages from Plutarch. His account is loose and incorrect." Professor Puchta may adopt Courier's witty saying about Plutarch, if he pleases, but that will not help his argument nor weaken mine. I have read Plutarch with some care, and I venture to say that, notwithstanding all his blunders, a good critic will find that his accounts of Roman matters will stand the test of inquiry better than those persons suppose, who only ridicule him and have not studied him. It is not unusual for men who may have more wit than Plutarch, and less modesty, to say something of another which is not true, for the sake of saying something which they think witty. If Plutarch was not always wise, he was at least always honest.

On the question of *this land* (τῆσδε τῆς γῆς), the reader has my views in the *Classical Museum* (Vol. II. p. 270), and he has Professor Puchta's here. The question is one that any person may form an opinion about who will take the pains. If I were not afraid of extending these remarks to an unreasonable length, I think that I could make my own interpretation more convincing than I have done. If I should find it necessary, I will do so in a future number of this journal.

Professor Puchta remarks, "that if there is any thing credible in Appian's account, it is the distinction which he draws between the Sempronian and Licinian laws. No agrarian law, either before or after, was without a clause ordering that the distribution of land should be made by commissioners; the Licinian law, if it were an agrarian law, would be the only one that has no such clause." This is a singular assertion. Appian speaks of the Licinian law briefly. The subject of his *Civil Wars* began with the legislation of the Gracchi, and he mentions the Licinian law by way of introduction to the subject. Besides, he says that the plebs did expect a division of lands, though he also says that the lands were to be sold; still he says that a division was expected. But the hopes of the plebs were frustrated, "for there was no regard paid to the laws or the oaths." Though we cannot certainly conclude that Appian meant that the law provided for a distribution of land, yet the probability is that he meant this. But let us suppose that he meant that there was no provision for the distribution of public land or the repurchase of private land, and see how this supposition will fit Professor Puchta's theory. According to Professor

Puchta, the plebs were to have by the Licinian law the opportunity of purchasing the surplus land after the owners of land were deprived of all except five hundred jugera. The execution of this measure would certainly require commissioners, who would have to see that every man surrendered and sold his surplus above five hundred jugera; it would require to be provided for by law, and yet there is no mention of such a provision of the Licinian law, either in Livy, or Appian, or anywhere else.

Again, I admit, that is, I believe, that where there was an agrarian law there must always have been a clause in it which provided for the proper execution of the law, by the appointment of commissioners for dividing the land. And yet Livy mentions agrarian laws without saying any thing of commissioners being appointed (IV. 47): "Senatus, priusquam ab tribunis plebis agrariæ seditiones mentione illata de agro Lavicano dividendo fierent, censuit frequens coloniam Lavicos deducendam: coloni ab urbe mille et quingenti missi bina jugera acceperunt." In v. 24, three thousand Romans were sent out as a colony into the Volscian territory, and lands were assigned to them: on this occasion Livy mentions the Triumviri agris dividendis. In v. 30, a colony is sent into the territory of Veii, and lands were assigned to them: on this occasion Livy does not mention the triumviri. We cannot, therefore, conclude that the Licinian law was not an agrarian law because Livy does not mention commissioners. He mentions neither division of lands nor commissioners. He leaves the thing very imperfect; and if we had only his sixth book extant, and none of the preceding books, we might very well doubt what he is speaking about. But if a man will read all Livy to the end of the sixth book, he cannot doubt what he meant by the Licinian law. This is the point of my argument, which I here repeat in order to avoid being misunderstood.

"The Licinian law, further," says Professor Puchta, "is never mentioned by the ancients among the agrarian laws, whereas it is mentioned several times in connection with leges sumptuariæ." The expression, 'among the agrarian laws,' is not clear: it may mean that it is not called an 'agrarian law;' and I do not know that it is ever called so. In fact, it is not often referred to. But I consider it to be referred to in the following passage of Columella (*De Re Rustica*, I. 3). Colu-

mella is speaking of the principle that a man ought not to purchase more land than he can cultivate well. He is not speaking of a legal limitation, but of a prudential limitation; and his advice is good at the present day. He adds: "Nec dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager non recte cultus quam angustus eximie. Ideoque post reges exactos Liciniana illa septena jugera quæ plebis tribunus viritim diviserat, majores quæstus antiquis retulere, quam nunc nobis præbent amplissima (vetereta)?" I refer this passage, with the older critics, to the legislation of C. Licinius, mentioned in the sixth book of Livy; nor do I see the difficulty that there is in referring it to this period, nor do I see any thing else that it can be so well referred to. After speaking of Curius Dentatus in the next sentence as one who refused a present of fifty jugera, and was content with this plebeian allowance of seven jugera (hac plebeia mensura), he proceeds to speak of C. Licinius's violating his own law as to the possession of fifty (a mistake for five hundred) jugera, a passage which is referred to by Huschke, and which I have quoted at length after him in the *Classical Museum* (Vol. II. p. 331). I admit that Columella's first reference to this Licinian law is not clear, and that there may be a difference of opinion here; but still I see nothing to which these 'seven Licinian jugera' can refer so well as to the Licinian law. If it does not refer to the Licinian law, it is not easy to see what it does refer to.

I do not admit that the Licinian law is mentioned 'several times' in connection with leges sumptuariæ. Macrobius, in his chapter on sumptuary laws (*Saturn.* II. c. 13), does not mention it. It is spoken of by Gellius (xx. 1) in a way which I was at first inclined to admit to be evidence that he classed this Licinian law with sumptuary laws. But upon consideration I do not admit that Gellius in that passage classes this Licinian law with the sumptuary laws. It is clear that he does not by his first mentioning the law of Stolo as to the 500 jugera, and then the Plebiscitum Voconium 'de coercendis mulierum hereditatibus.' He then goes on to say, "Quid tam necessarium existimatum est propulsandæ civium luxuriæ, quam lex Licinia et Fannia aliæque item leges sumptuariæ." I need not observe that this sumptuary Licinian law is a different law from that of Stolo. Gellius, like Macrobius, takes 'luxuria' to be the object of a sumptuary law, not the acquisition of property. I conceive that whether the law of Stolo applied to

rian agitation which was begun by Sp. Cassius, as receiving its consummation in the legislation of Licinius, the main object of which was to limit the amount of possession of public land. He read Livy carefully, and he came to the conclusion that every sound critic must come to who will follow his example.

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way that I have stated. We have in England plenty of such laws full of penalties, and informers act under them. Many of the laws are as bad as they can be, the Game Laws for instance; but every man feels that there is a great difference between the informations laid under such laws, and the informations, the arrests, the imprisonment, or the exile, which under an absolute government are the means of exercising tyranny, wherever the absolute ruler or his advisers are inclined that way; and even under an absolute government, when wisely and humanely administered, constitute a power which the citizens of a free state look on with horror and disgust.

Professor Puchta knows the value in a weak argument of charging his adversary with mistakes. He says that I commit a mistake of a singular kind when I speak of his assertion, "that it was a matter of public interest not to allow the censors to let the ager publicus in small lots," &c. I admit that I committed a mistake. My mistake was in writing something which the professor may, perhaps, properly enough call a parody, and which he has certainly not understood. I am not uneasy about my alleged ignorance on this trifling matter, which everybody who knows any thing at all of Roman history, knows as well as Professor Puchta. I conclude with observing, by the way, that, in quoting Festus to prove that 'possessiones' contains the idea of 'agri late patentes,' the professor has forgot to quote the whole of the passage, which, at full length, is clear enough, and, I believe, true. As he has quoted it, the passage is of no use for his argument.

The Passage in Appian (*Civil Wars*, I. 8), which relates to the Licinian law is this: *μόλις ποτὲ τῶν δημάρχων εἰσηγουμένων ἔκριναν, Μηδένα ἔχειν [τῆσδε]τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα, μηδὲ προβατεύειν ἑκατὸν πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα· καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἐλευθέρων ἔχειν ἐπέταξαν, οἵ τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάξειν τε καὶ μηνύσειν ἔμελλον.* I have translated this passage in the *Classical Museum* (Vol. II. p. 271) as follows: "However, with some difficulty, at last, on the proposition of the tribunes, they determined, that no person should have more of this land than five hundred plethra, nor keep more than one hundred large animals and five hundred smaller. And for these purposes also they imposed on them a number of freemen to have, who were to watch the produce and report." This translation is correct, with one small exception. It is also

mella is speaking of the principle that a man ought not to purchase more land than he can cultivate well. He is not speaking of a legal limitation, but of a prudential limitation; and his advice is good at the present day. He adds: "Nec dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager non recte cultus quam angustus eximie. Ideoque post reges exactos Liciniana illa septena jugera quæ plebis tribunus viritim diviserat, majores quæstus antiquis retulere, quam nunc nobis præbent amplissima (vetereta)?" I refer this passage, with the older critics, to the legislation of C. Licinius, mentioned in the sixth book of Livy; nor do I see the difficulty that there is in referring it to this period, nor do I see any thing else that it can be so well referred to. After speaking of Curius Dentatus in the next sentence as one who refused a present of fifty jugera, and was content with this plebeian allowance of seven jugera (hac plebeia mensura), he proceeds to speak of C. Licinius's violating his own law as to the possession of fifty (a mistake for five hundred) jugera, a passage which is referred to by Huschke, and which I have quoted at length after him in the *Classical Museum* (Vol. II. p. 331). I admit that Columella's first reference to this Licinian law is not clear, and that there may be a difference of opinion here; but still I see nothing to which these 'seven Licinian jugera' can refer so well as to the Licinian law. If it does not refer to the Licinian law, it is not easy to see what it does refer to.

I do not admit that the Licinian law is mentioned 'several times' in connection with leges sumptuariæ. Macrobius, in his chapter on sumptuary laws (*Saturn.* II. c. 13), does not mention it. It is spoken of by Gellius (XX. 1) in a way which I was at first inclined to admit to be evidence that he classed this Licinian law with sumptuary laws. But upon consideration I do not admit that Gellius in that passage classes this Licinian law with the sumptuary laws. It is clear that he does not by his first mentioning the law of Stolo as to the 500 jugera, and then the Plebiscitum Voconium 'de coercendis mulierum hereditatibus.' He then goes on to say, "Quid tam necessarium existimatum est propulsandæ civium luxuriæ, quam lex Licinia et Fannia aliæque item leges sumptuariæ." I need not observe that this sumptuary Licinian law is a different law from that of Stolo. Gellius, like Macrobius, takes 'luxuria' to be the object of a sumptuary law, not the acquisition of property. I conceive that whether the law of Stolo applied to

public or private land, it could not be called a sumptuary law. A Roman sumptuary law was directed against extravagant living, expensive dress, expensive funerals, and so forth. Our English sumptuary laws, which have long been repealed, were precisely of the same character as the Roman. Professor Puchta first maintains that the law of Stolo is 'several times' mentioned in connection with leges sumptuariæ; he then argues that the accumulation of landed property might be viewed as a luxury by the old Romans, but that the avarice of accumulating public land could not be called luxury. The conclusion then is intended to be, that the theory of the Licinian law being a law to limit private property, is confirmed by the fact of its being viewed as a sumptuary law. But I assert that it was not viewed as a sumptuary law, and so far Professor Puchta's support is gone. I want to see the passages cited "in which it is mentioned several times in connection with leges sumptuariæ." I mean such a connection as will convince a person who reads carefully.

If a person were only to read what Professor Puchta says of the meanings of 'possessio' 'possidere,' he might conclude that I did not know that these words had any other application than as technical words to express the occupation of Ager Publicus; so that while those who know nothing of the nature of the Roman public land and of the technical terms for it, and they are certainly still a large part of those who read Latin authors, I who do know the nature of the Roman public land, and the technical terms for it, do not know that anybody else gives a different meaning to these terms. Niebuhr, he says, had the weakness to suspect a reference to ager publicus, wherever in the Roman law (im Römischen Rechte) he met with the word possidere. The phrase in 'the Roman law' is vague. I take Professor Puchta to mean that at any rate Niebuhr never saw 'possidere' or its connected forms when applied to land, without thinking of public land. I cannot believe that Professor Puchta means to charge the historian of Rome with a degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy might be ashamed; nor do I suppose that he means to say that when Niebuhr read of 'bonorum possessio' in Livy (II. 24), he then thought of public land. But nobody except Professor Puchta himself can say exactly what he does mean by this apparent slur on the memory of a distinguished scholar. I admit the great talents

of Niebuhr and his services to Roman literature, but an exact, or any thing like a professional knowledge of Roman law I never supposed that he had; and more than that, I do not think that he had a talent for handling legal matters. I do not presume to dispute that Professor Puchta does know something of Roman law, and a good deal; but that will not prove that he either argues a matter well, or has discovered the true interpretation of a disputed text in Livy. His remark that Niebuhr knew more of Roman law than most historians or philologers think it necessary to know, may be true. Yet there were old philologers who certainly knew more of Roman law than Niebuhr, and what is more, could use it better; and if I mistake not, there are living philologers in Germany who have as competent a knowledge of all that is necessary to explain the classical writers as any of the living jurists of Germany, save only one, whom I need not name.

Professor Puchta has thought it necessary to refer to various passages in the Digest to prove that the word 'possidere' can be applied to private land. I ask him who ever disputed that? It would be easy to add to his instances from the Digest many more at least as appropriate as his examples; but why turn to the Digest to prove what a man may establish out of any writer of the Augustan age? This is mere rambling from the subject. The question is, and it shall not be evaded, what does Livy mean when he speaks of 'possidere' in stating the Licinian law? In what sense has he used this word in every instance, prior to that in the sixth book, when he uses it in connection with land? And again, how do all the other authorities, Greek and Latin, view the law of Licinius? Some authorities may be against my interpretation, some may be of doubtful interpretation, and some may agree with that interpretation which I maintain to be Livy's meaning. Taking all the evidence together, what is the most probable meaning and object of the Licinian law de modo agri or agrorum? These are the questions for a critic to answer.

Professor Puchta's explanation of the meaning of 'possidere,' as applied to private land, which word, as he says, it is possible was used in the Licinian law, is the refined conjecture, or rather mystification, of a learned jurist. I admit his ingenuity, and I reject altogether his hypothesis. He says he can give a definitive reason why Licinius, even if his law referred to ager priva-

tus, was obliged to use the word 'possidere,' in preference to one directly implying ownership. I do not deny that 'habere possidere' (if habere was in the law, and it might be) can apply to private property; I do not deny that if 'possidere' alone were in the law, it might apply to private property. But I am certain that the law would have shewn clearly enough by the context what was the kind of land to which 'possidere' applied. But we do not know the terms of the law accurately, and therefore we cannot reason upon them. I will admit that the word 'possidere,' if the Licinian law applied to private land, might effect the purpose of the legislator, as explained by Professor Puchta; and I admit, that in order to carry the law into effect, a man must have been entitled to take property by inheritance (ab intestato) and by testament. Otherwise, he could not have given a good title to it, when he sold it under compulsion, according to Professor Puchta's exposition. But it is hardly possible to imagine a law which would cause more attempts at evasion, and would require a greater amount of vigilant superintendence, than a law which limits a man's property in land or in any thing else. I do not know if any country offers an instance of such a law. Much less do I know of any country in which a class of nobles, who possessed up to the time of its enactment nearly all political power, were so far humbled as to lose part of their landed property, and be debarred from subsequent acquisition, beyond a prescribed amount. Nor does it diminish the difficulty that the rich plebeians suffered also, unless we suppose they gave up part of their property in order to participate in the honours of the state. But they only succeeded in opening half of the consulship to their ambition. They might just as easily have got all, if they were strong enough, by a sacrifice of their own property, to humble a proud body of nobles. But it is a serious objection to all this, that the nobles (I mean the patricians) are represented by Livy as having little private property. Therefore the law would hardly affect them, according to Professor Puchta's explanation of it; but if the law applied to public land, it would affect them seriously. They were humbled by having their hitherto exclusive right to the public land limited, and it is easy to conceive why the patricians might not have much private property. It is more profitable, in all countries, to hold land on lease at an easy rent, than to invest money in the purchase of land. The

one requires no purchase-money and has less risk; the purchase requires a large outlay at once, and the additional expense of stocking the land if a man farms it himself. Besides, the Roman nobles might frequently evade the payment of the rent to the state for the public land; and it is stated by ancient authorities that they did. I do not believe that the rights of private property were ever assailed by Roman legislation.

I maintain that such a law as the Licinian, as explained by Professor Puchta, could not be carried into effect in any state. If there is such an instance on record, I shall be glad to know what it is. If such a law ever was carried into effect, it would breed up of necessity, and would require, a host of informers and a host of government agents. It would probably have given rise to a system like what arose in England under the old statutes of mortmain, the object of which was to prevent the clergy, both secular and regular, from getting the land into their hands. But the cunning of those who seek to evade a law is always above the wisdom of the legislature, and so it was in England for a long time. The Statute of Uses did something to check the arts of the clergy, but the acts for the suppression of religious houses did more.

With respect to a system of espionage which Professor Puchta alleges as an improbable thing in the fourth century of Rome, and which he considers to be a part of my explanation of the passage in Appian, I observe that his view of the Licinian law seems to me to require such a system, in order that the law might be effectual, as much as my explanation. But setting this aside, there is a great difference between a system of informers, who act under a law and detect persons in the violation of a law, and the informing system under the Empire. A strict police, a number of spies and informers, at the command of an absolute ruler, is a very different thing from that class of informers which is raised up by the enactments of a law that has for its object the public interest. Such laws contain penalties to which those who violate them are liable; and in order to carry such laws into effect, those who take the trouble to detect the violator of them are rewarded with part of the penalty. The alleged object of such laws, as I have said, in a free state is the public good, at least this is generally the alleged object: they may be unwise laws, but the public good is their professed object, and that end is accomplished in the

produce of land, it can also express, and more properly express, a superintendence over men who may be hostile or wrongdoers, or over things which it is the object to keep in a certain order; and this sense is applicable to my interpretation of this passage of Appian.

I consider, then, that these persons were appointed to keep a watch on what was doing with respect to the land and the cattle, or, in other words, to see that the law was not violated in either way; either by individuals occupying more public land than the law allowed, or feeding more cattle on it. It is obvious that if there was nobody to look after the observance of such a law, it would be easily evaded. If Appian meant to say that the law compelled people to employ free men as villici on their private land, I presume that he could have found a word (ἐπίτροπος) which should express his meaning; but he would hardly have said that the law compelled people to employ free men as villici, in order that a law might be carried into effect, which the villici, who acted, or ought to act, for their masters, would be the very persons to violate.

But Appian goes further: he tells us that these persons had to watch over what was going on and to report,—to *inform;* and I state that I use the word *inform* designedly. Appian does not say, as one of the Latin versions makes him say, that they were to report to the *owner;* he simply says μηνύσειν, which means to 'lay an information;' and thus absolutely used, it means to lay an information before the proper authorities, and not to lay an information before their masters.

If this be the correct interpretation of the passage, it follows that these persons were not villici in the ordinary and proper sense of that term. As to the word μηνύω, or any other word that may occur in an ambiguous passage, the just rule of interpretation, as I have already observed, is to give to it the meaning that it has in passages where there is no ambiguity. This happens to be one of those words which are used strictly and exclusively in one sense by Greek writers during a period of six hundred years. The Attic writers of the age of Thucydides and Aristophanes, and the Greek writers under the Empire, Appian, Plutarch, Dion Cassius, and others, use the word in one uniform sense, and in one only: and the sense is this, 'to lay an information before, to carry informa-

tion to, some superior persons, to the injury, for the detection, for the punishment of him who is the object of the information.' The word has no other sense in any passage that I can find, and I therefore conclude that it has that sense in this passage also[4].

Those who will take the trouble to look at the following passages may satisfy themselves that I give to the word its true meaning: Aristophanes, *Acharnes*, 205; Thucydides, IV. 89, VI. 27, 28, 29. 60; Andocides, see the Indices; Antiphon., ditto; Demosthenes, ditto; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, pp. 217. 282. 309. 425. 608. 707. and others; Plutarch, *Cicero*, c. 19, *Lucullus*, 29; Dion Cassius, XLI. 38, LV. 27; Appian, *Civil Wars*, II. 3; *Samnite Affairs*, I. 1. I could add other references, but these are enough. I have added fewer from Appian, because I have no index, and I have collected the passages from him, as well as from the other writers, mainly from my own reading. I maintain that in all these passages the verb μηνύω has the sense which I have given to it in the passage of Appian, and if Professor Puchta disputes my interpretation of Appian, I shall be glad if he will prove that I am wrong. The unvarying use of a word for six hundred years by Greek writers on Greek affairs, and by Greek writers on Roman affairs, is stronger evidence than one could expect to find. The word μηνύω in Dion Cassius is correctly rendered by the Latin 'deferre' in the Latin version, and μηνύσεις is correctly rendered by 'delationes:' though the Latin word 'deferre' was used in a more general sense, in Livy for instance, than the verb μηνύω. Hitherto I have only found one passage that does not agree with this interpretation of μηνύω, and that is in the *Œdipus Coloneus* (v. 1187, ed. Brunck), which was pointed out to me by my friend Professor Malden.

> λόγων δ' ἀκοῦσαι τις βλάβη; τά τοι καλῶς
> εὑρημέν' ἔργα τῷ λόγῳ μηνύεται.

But Hermann conjectures κακῶς in place of καλῶς, and I think he is right; and he is followed by Wunder in his edition of Sophocles. But if καλῶς is the right reading here, that does not affect the use of μηνύω in the prose writers, and parti-

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[4] Since writing this (I mean as before, after it was in type), I have discovered in Plutarch (*Sertorius*, c. 20) a different meaning of the compound προμηνύω.

cularly in those Greek writers who wrote on Roman affairs. At any rate, I can only find the word in these writers in the sense which I have here given to it. There may be passages in which it is used differently, and it is always hazardous to assert a general negative. However, I have looked diligently for such passages, and I cannot find them in Appian or elsewhere. If Appian ever uses the word in a sense different from what I give to it in this passage, I am ready to admit that my interpretation, instead of being certain, is doubtful.

Again, I contend that the verb ἐπέταξαν in this passage of Appian is used in its proper sense of some burden imposed. (Comp. Dion Cass. xxxix. c. 37.) It is true that if villici were *imposed* on the masters against their will, this would so far agree with the proper sense of the word ἐπιτάσσω, for that would be a burden, and a grievous one too: but it agrees still better with the sense which I give to this passage.

Professor Puchta has not entered into a critical examination of this passage: he assumes that it means something which the words of Appian contradict, and the universal usage of the Greek language, as I believe, contradicts; and there he leaves it. I do not, therefore, write this to confute his opinion, for he has not critically examined the passage; but I write this to establish my own opinion; nor would I waste my time in confuting an adversary who on this point has shewn a degree of carelessness incompatible with sound criticism or an earnest desire to get at the truth.

The word αὐτοῖς in the expression καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῖς, &c. might create a difficulty to those who are not accustomed to the Greek writers under the Empire. I have assumed that αὐτοῖς, though it has no proper antecedent, refers to the persons meant by μηδένα. Such usages are common in Plutarch. I cannot at present refer to an instance in Appian; but I presume that on this point there will be no difference of opinion.

The use of the word ἔχειν in the phrase ἔχειν ἐπέταξαν is curious. In my original essay I translated the word 'to have;' and I added, "this is the literal version of the passage, which is one of considerable difficulty." Professor Puchta does not find it obscure, and I don't wonder at it. He who sees not the difficulties of a thing finds no obscurity. He blunders, and he is satisfied. Professor Puchta refers us to the *Scriptores*

Rei Rusticæ, and says that Appian in these words οἱ τὰ γιγνόμενα describes the functions of the villici. If any man will look in these valuable writers, who are much more talked of than read, he will certainly find their duties clearly described; but he will find that their duties are due to their masters, and that Villici are not imposed upon their masters to see to the observance of any law. Professor Puchta adds, "to envy slaves their common employment as labourers could never have come into the head of even the poorest among the Romans." So a man would suppose without being told; and because a poor Roman would not choose to take the labour of a slave, we are therefore to suppose with Professor Puchta, that he was made a villicus, that is, put in a confidential place contrary to the will of his master. This would be a system of tyranny, for every master would, above all things, think it to be his interest not to be obliged to have a villicus, whom he did not choose himself. Professor Puchta may say, if the master did not like the villicus that was imposed on him, he would discharge him and get another; and he might invent a number of other facts to bolster up his misunderstanding of the original. Perhaps he can also tell me how many poor Romans got employment in this way as villici, and how many there were left unprovided for. He may perhaps also be able to explain why he now says that the landowner was required to keep a number of free men as inspectors, when he had said in his *Cursus*, &c., that they should be employed in the cultivation of the land, instead of slaves.

Professor Puchta refers us to the *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ* for a description of a Villicus. Those who wish to see what a villicus should be, in the opinion of the agricultural writers, will find it in the 11th book of Columella, chap. I. He ought to be inured to rustic labour from his youth, and the future villicus ought to be tried by much previous experience of him before he is appointed. It is not enough for him to be a thorough master of all agricultural matters, but it should be ascertained if he is faithful and well disposed to his master, for without these qualities the highest degree of knowledge in a villicus is of no use. In fact, a villicus should be trained for his business as much as a potter or any worker in wood or metal. The villicus, then, ought to be brought up to the business, as Columella says, and so says Ischomachus in Xeno-

States have always managed their public land well; they have always sold it on fair terms. Great Britain has generally managed it ill, and used to give it away imprudently; she now sells it, but generally sells it too dear. Sometimes she lets it on lease. But in Australia there are also large pasture tracts, which a man may occupy as pasture ground by paying an annual fee or rent of £10, and an assessment, under a local ordinance (2 Vict. cap. 27), on the head of stock depastured thereon. Each allotment of land for which a license is given is called a station, and the size of a station may vary from 5,000 to 30,000 acres. In the year 1840, near 1,500,000 sheep, besides a large number of horses and cattle, were fed on such stations[5], of which there were 718. Persons who have pasture licenses are required to make to a commissioner, half-yearly, according to a certain form, a report of all the stock kept by them on the lands which they occupy under such license, and of the particular brands (marks) which they put on their stock, and these brands must be registered with the commissioner. For the purpose of carrying the act into effect, commissioners are appointed for different districts, with men at their command, who are mounted, armed, and accoutred, and who are called a border police. The commissioners have great powers for enforcing the law; they determine all disputes between masters and servants, and all disputes relating to encroachments by licensed persons on the stations of other licensed persons; they may drive away the stock of licensed persons so encroaching, and may drive away and impound the stock of unlicensed persons, and so on. And (s. 16), "in order to defray the expenses of the salaries of the said commissioners and police officers necessary to carry the objects aforesaid into due execution, it is expedient that an assessment should be raised and levied upon and off the sheep, cattle, and horses in the possession of the persons so licensed as aforesaid; and it is enacted that there shall be paid, half-yearly, certain sums on all the various kinds of sheep, cattle, and horses which are depastured on the licensed pastures; so much for a ram or ewe, and so on; so much for a bull, and so on; so much for a horse or mare, and so on." Every thing is regulated in the most precise manner, as the provisions of the

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[5] *Colonial Land and Emigration Report*; printed by order of the House of Commons, 12th August, 1842.

act shew, and the schedules, A, B, &c. which are attached to it. The expense of the police is borne by those who pay for the pasture licenses, by those who pasture the Public lands.

This is in the nineteenth century of the Christian æra; but it would do very well for the fourth century before it, or any other time. It is, perhaps, not new, for the Roman system of pasturing the public lands, if it was efficient, must have resembled it. The Romans would not only provide that the rents were duly paid, but that a man did not get any advantage beyond that for which he paid. Like political circumstances may produce like political results. The British system has certainly not been framed by persons who drew any hints from the Roman system, but it resembles it as to the management of the pasture land; and, so far, there is nothing new under the sun.

GEORGE LONG.

VIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Demosthenis de Falsa Legatione. With Notes and Appendices, by Richard Shilleto, M.A. Cambridge, 1844. 8vo.

The union of innovation and compromise is, now-a-days, too frequent to excite surprise, even if met with in an edition of a Greek classic. Nevertheless, Demosthenes' speech with two rows of notes under it, one in Latin and the other in English, presents a rather motley appearance, and forcibly recals Butler's humorous lines:

> It was a party-coloured dress
> Of patched and py-balled languages;
> 'Twas English cut on Greek and Latin,
> Like fustian heretofore on satin;
> It had an odd, promiscuous tone,
> As if h' had talked three parts in one.

Mr. Shilleto writes his critical notes in Latin, because it has a better supply of technical terms; his explanatory ones in English, because our own language has a nearer affinity to Greek than the Latin. It must be acknowledged, however, that some of the English is rather πονηροῦ κόμματος, and hardly an improvement on the hybrid Latin it is meant to supersede; *e. g.* in § 218: "This woman, in the first instance, merely quietly to drink and eat dessert they tried to force, I should suppose." Nay, in spite of its asserted superiority in explanation, in Mr. Shilleto's hands it is sometimes even ambiguous, as in § 28: "What, then, did you not then at the very time set about informing and instructing us of this?" Which words do not, like the text, necessarily imply a negative. Notwithstanding these minor objections, however, Mr. Shilleto's edition is a useful one, and his notes are, in general, judicious. We subjoin a few remarks on some of his readings.

§ 34, p. 350 (Reiske). "οὐχ ὡς ὅδε Φωκέας ἀπώλεσε." ὅδε, says Mr. Shilleto, "is evidently Philip, not Æschines;" and consequently translates: "Not that Philip ruined the Phocians by himself (which I grant; Philip has done so; let them make the most of it, &c.)." But if that was what Demosthenes granted, Mr. Shillito has neglected to explain how he could possibly have added the word πόθεν ("how should Philip

have done it?")—which cannot there be rendered by οὐδαμῶς. Had he been speaking of Philip, too, he would have used ἐκεῖνος, as he does throughout the oration, with, we believe, only one exception (in § 122), where we find ὁ δὲ (not ὅδε). The demonstrative is here used, δεικτικῶς, and contemptuously, and the meaning of the passage seems to be, "But it behoves you to look to this point, whether these ambassadors, so far as their powers reached, purposely ruined every thing on which the safety of the Phocians depended, not whether this fellow here, in his individual capacity, destroyed them—how should he?" That this is the meaning is plain from the context, since Demosthenes sets out with the proposition that a very insignificant person, when employed, like Æschines, in a public capacity, may effect a great deal of mischief. It must be allowed that the construction of ὡς is rather anomalous, but not more so if referred to Æschines than if to Philip. If ὅδε were, indeed, to be referred to the latter, we should at least read ἀπώλεσεν ἄν, with Schaefer.

§ 39, p. 352. πραοτέρους—τινός, "More mild than *any thing*. I do not remember a similar expression." Neither do we, and therefore read with some of the MSS. τινάς, *i. e.* "became quite other and milder persons"—ironically. We do not see the appositeness of the passages quoted from Thucydides. In that from lib. VII. c. 29, μᾶλλον has, we suspect, no reference to οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσων, but belongs to ἀδόκητος and δεινή, though the sentence is rather *asyndetous*, viz. "and that misfortune, inferior in magnitude to none, and more than any other unexpected and dreadful, fell upon the whole city." In like manner in the other passage from lib. I. 138: ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι—the μᾶλλον belongs to ἄξιος, and the passage may be rendered: "For Themistocles had most incontrovertibly displayed his strength of mind, and was considerably more worthy to be admired for this quality than any other man." αὐτό is used for the demonstrative τοῦτο, as it frequently is in Thucydides (Cf. lib. I. 2 and 68; lib II. 18, &c.).

§ 51, p. 355. Νὴ Δία ἀδικήσω γ' ἔφην. Mr. S. reads with Bekker ἢ ἀδικήσω, translating: "Certainly I shall not, I replied, else if I do, I shall act unfairly." But surely Demosthenes would then have said μὰ Δία, not νή; and therefore we do not know whether the vulgate be not preferable.

§ 118, p. 374. For δικαίως ἀπολωλέναι κρίνεται, Mr. S. proposes to read δικαίως ἀπόλωλε· ναί, κρίνεται: thus giving ναί a negative sense, to introduce an objection from the dicasts, viz. "Nay, you will say, he is undergoing a trial upon this point: that point is not decided, it is being tried." But, granting that the Athenians could be such very matter-of-fact people, as to be thought capable of making an objection

like this, which destroys the whole oratorical force of the passage, in which Demosthenes anticipates his verdict, we have very strong doubts whether ναί can be used in this way, unless where it is followed by an adversative particle, as ἀλλὰ, or δὲ. And this, indeed, is the case in all the instances adduced by Mr. S. in his Appendix D, with the exception of those in which it is used with an oath, or with an imperative, and which are beside the point; or where in reality no negative at all is implied, as in the example from the *Persæ*, 738, the *Philoctetes*, 372, &c. The ναί always affirms, though an objection or limitation may be afterwards made by ἀλλὰ or δέ; "that is true, but, &c." In the example from the *Cyclops* of Euripides, 147, we should certainly read καὶ with Hermann. We therefore cordially concur in Wolf's emendation, δίκαιος; and just so we find written at the end of § 120, καὶ τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀπολωλέναι δίκαιος.

We must now quit Mr. Shilleto's book, but cannot do so without remarking, that the way in which it is printed is a disgrace to the Cambridge University Press. To the long list of *errata* prefixed to the volume we could add near a score from our own reading.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, DE LITERATURE, ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNES. No. I. Paris, 1845. 8vo.

THIS is the title of a philological or classical Journal, which was commenced at Paris at the beginning of the present year, and is to be continued in parts, appearing every other month. We have observed, for some time past, that classical studies are gradually reviving in France, and the present undertaking is a pleasing symptom of it. The first part of the *Revue de Philologie* opens with a paper, by M. Letronne, on the time of the accession and coronation of the Ptolemies, based on a passage of the celebrated Rosetta Stone, in the British Museum. The second paper, by M. Dübner, is a dissertation on a MS. containing the commentary of Probus on Virgil, accompanied by an unedited fragment of the same commentary. The third paper is the first part of the report which M. Ph. Le Bas sent to the minister of public instruction, on the results of his travels and investigations in Asia Minor. Then follow two reviews; one by Theob. Tix on Boissonade's edition of Babrius, and Dübner's *Animadversiones criticæ de Babrii*, &c.; and the other, by L. Renier, on Egger's *Latini Sermonis vetustioris Reliquiæ selectæ*. The part concludes with a number of short notices and a list of recent publications.

HESIODI THEOGONIA. Librorum MSS. et veterum Editionum Lectionibus Commentarioque instruxit D. J. Van Lennep. Amstelodami, 1843. 8vo. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

A NEW edition of Hesiod's *Theogony* cannot be but very acceptable to the friends of Greek literature, who must have felt how much there yet remained to be done after the first edition of Göttling's Hesiod. The present edition of the *Theogony*, prepared by the veteran of Dutch scholars, leaves little that can be reasonably desired. M. Van Lennep has collected a very complete critical apparatus, and constituted the text of his author with great care. We are glad to find that he has wisely resisted the temptation to introduce many conjectures into the text, as well as abstained from that rash criticism of some modern scholars, who reject a vast number of verses in the *Theogony* as interpolations. The various readings and critical notices are given under the text, and the explanatory commentary, which contains many valuable mythological investigations, forms the second part of the work, from p. 127 to p. 396. It is only to be regretted that the editor has neglected to add an index to the work, which would have considerably enhanced its usefulness.

GRIECHINNEN UND GRIECHEN, nach Antiken Skizzirt von Theod. Panofka, mit 56 bildlichen Darstellungen. Berlin, 1844. Folio. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

DIE HEILGÖTTER DER GRIECHEN. Von Theod. Panofka. Berlin, 1845. 4to.

THE first of these interesting publications consists of two parts, each being a lecture delivered in the *Wissenschaftliche Verein* of Berlin. The one contains a sketch of the life of Greek females, from their birth to their death. The account is based partly on the ancient writers, and partly on representations found on ancient vases, mirrors, &c. The second part treats of the life and occupations of men, in the same manner. The whole treatise gives, in a small compass, a lively picture of ancient life, and is a good specimen of the use which may be made of the monuments of antiquity in illustrating the manners and customs of the ancients. Much archæological lore has been collected and compiled by earlier scholars, but it is only in our days that we have been enabled to *read* the artistic representations of the ancients in the same manner as we read their written monuments. To read and understand them requires an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, which, in their turn, receive light, in innumerable passages, from the facts, thoughts, and ideas represented in works of art.

The second of the above dissertations, by M. Panofka, treats of th gods to whom, besides Asclepios and his descendants, healing power were attributed. The author brings before us most of the great god of the Greeks, and shews, partly from ancient authors and partly fron works of art, that all were looked upon as possessing, more or less, th power of curing diseases and healing wounds. To this is added a shor dissertation on the *dæmones* and heroes to whom medical and surgica skill was ascribed, such as Chiron (the man of the hand, *i. e.* the sur geon), Prometheus, Apis, Achilles, and others. The whole treatise though consisting of ouly eighteen pages of text and two plates is a valuable contribution towards the understanding of ancien mythology.

MANUAL OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE. From the German of J. J Eschenburg. With additions by N. W. Fiske. Fourth edition Philadelphia, 1844. 8vo. (London: Wiley and Putnam.)

THIS work comprises short treatises on the following subjects: 1 Classical Geography and Topography; 2. Classical Chronology; 3 Greek and Roman Mythology; 4. Greek Antiquities; 5. Roma Antiquities; 6. Archæology of Greek Literature; 7. Archæology c Roman Literature; 8. Archæology of Art; 9. History of Greel Literature; 10. History of Roman Literature. It was at one tim extensively used in the schools of Germany, and enjoyed a well merited reputation. In consequence, however, of the great progres that has been made in almost all the subjects of which it treats, it ma be regarded as out of date in the present day, and is in many respect inferior to the similar works of Schaaff and Hoffmann. The trans lator says that he has made many additions and improvements, i order to bring up the work to the present state of classical knowledge and in the preface to the present edition, mentions in particular th assistance he has derived from *Smith's Dictionary of Greek an Roman Antiquities*. We have noticed, however, that many errors c the original work remain uncorrected, as must almost necessaril happen in such cases, however industrious and careful the editor ma be in his revision: it is much safer to write a new work than t attempt patching up an old one. This is particularly exemplified i the sections devoted to the Roman constitution, which contain a curiou mixture of the views of modern scholars with the old substratur of the work. Thus, though the translator refers to the articl *Patricii* in the *Dictionary of Antiquities*, he confines the term, wit Livy and Cicero, "to the descendants of the patres or senators ap

pointed by Romulus." (§ 253.) In like manner the translator neglects to point out the essential difference between the *comitia curiata* and the *comitia centuriata*, namely, that the former was the assembly of the patricians, and the latter included both orders, arranged according to a property qualification: he merely states, that "Romulus established the *comitia curiata*, in which the votes were given by *curiæ;* Servius Tullius the *comitia centuriata*, in which the people voted by centuries." (§ 259.) With respect to the *comitia tributa* we find the strange statement, that "it was instituted by the tribunes in B.C. 491." Surely there is no need now for introducing such books into our schools; they have served in their time, but if those who undertake to reproduce them, do not keep pace with the times, they must share the fate of every thing which is stagnating, and make room for better works.

THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

IX.

ON THE AGE OF BABRIUS[1].

With a view to testify my respect for the editor of this Journal, and at the same time to offer him a substantial proof of the interest I have taken in this excellent periodical from the commencement of its publication, I had begun, some time since, to pen some remarks on the characteristics of the Greek Iambic poets. Being, however, interrupted by more pressing business, I had not proceeded far in my researches when Boissonade's long-expected edition of Babrius came to hand. A question connected with this work, which the French editor has but briefly noticed, I shall here endeavour to discuss more minutely.

The Brute-fable in Greece is of the highest antiquity. It may be considered, in all respects, as the twin-sister of the Heroic-Epic, and though I do not deny their connection with the East, which, in respect of the former, cannot be reasonably contradicted, they both, as they have come down to us, exhibit a form which must be considered as an independent production of the Hellenic national mind. For it is a striking peculiarity of the Greeks, that they always transformed whatever they borrowed from other nations, so as to obliterate, as far as was practicable, every trace of its foreign origin, and bring it to an artistic perfection. But whilst the Hero-fable was, at an early period, embellished with all the charms of poetry, the Brute-fable continued to retain its original

[1] Translated from the author's MS. by G. F. Graham.

rude form, though it was never lost sight of by the nation. Indeed, I consider it not improbable, that at a later period, when the Heroic-Epic ceased to be composed, and the Epic form began to be used upon other materials, the Brute-fable was then first treated poetically, and that the actions and habits of animals were described in an Epic form, but with *naïveté*, and without the least view of conveying moral instruction. Of this we have some faint echo in the *Batrachomyomachia*, which undoubtedly must be ascribed to Pigres, in the time of the Persian war. And even supposing that there were predecessors to Pigres, which I consider probable, their works must be regarded as merely isolated attempts; the whole and rich material which the Brute-fable offered was in no instance artistically treated, but how could the Greeks have allowed so important a bequest from their ancestors to have fallen into oblivion, without leaving some traces of its former existence? On the other hand, poetry, in an early period, uses these national legends for a didactic purpose, in which animals appear as if in a mirror held up by the poet, as a warning and instruction to his age. The *αἶνος* is made use of in this way even by Hesiod; with the same aim the ingenious Archilochus composed his most sarcastic Iambic Brute-fables; in like manner, Simonides of Amorgos probably used these inexhaustible mines of instruction. It is but to advance a step further, to compose with a didactic view, in imitation of the Brute-fable. Of this there is a remarkable example in Galen, *Protrept.* 13: *Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς, οἷς ἀσκοῦσιν, οὐδενός εἰσιν ἄξιοι λόγου (οἱ ἀθληταὶ) μάθοιτ' ἂν εἰ διηγησαίμην ὑμῖν τὸν μῦθον ἐκεῖνον, ὃν τῶν οὐκ ἀμούσων ἀνδρῶν τις ἐντείνας ἔπεσιν διεσκεύασεν· ἔστι δὲ οὗτος. Εἰ Διὸς γνώμη πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις ὁμόνοια καὶ κοινωνία γένοιτο πρὸς τὸν βιὸν, ὡς τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κήρυκα μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους καλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς ζώοις εἰς στάδιον ἥκειν ἕν, οὐδένα ἂν ἄνθρωπον οἶμαι στεφθήσεσθαι· ἐν μὲν γὰρ δολιχῷ ὑπέρτατος, φησίν, ἔσται ὁ ἵππος, τὸ στάδιον δὲ λαγωὸς ἀποίσεται, ἐν δὲ διαύλῳ δορκὰς ἀριστεύει, μερόπων δ' ἐναρίθμιος οὐδεὶς ἐν ποσὶν, ὦ κοῦφοι ἀσκητῆρες ἄθλιοι ἄνδρες· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τὶς ἐλέφαντος ἢ λέοντος ἰσχυρότερος ἂν φανείη· οἶμαι δ' ὅτι καὶ ταῦρος πυγμῇ στεφθήσεται, καὶ ὄνος, φησὶ, λὰξ ὅτι εἰ βούλεται, ἐρίσας αὐτὸν τὸν στέφανον οἴσεται, αὖταρ ἐν ἱστορίῃ πολυπείρῳ γράψεται ὄνος ὅτι παγκράτιον νίκησέ ποτ' ἄνδρας, εἰκοστὴ καὶ πρώτη Ὀλυμπιὰς ἣν ὅτ' ἐνίκα ὀγκητής· πάνυ*

χαριέντως οὗτος ὁ μῦθος ἐπιδείκνυσι τὴν ἀθλητικὴν ἰσχὺν οὐ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὖσαν ἀσκημάτων.

The fragments of this poem may be restored as follows:—

Ἐν μὲν γὰρ δολιχῷ πανυπέρτατος ἔσσεται ἵππος,
τὸ στάδιον δὲ λαγωὸς ἀποίσεται, ἐν δὲ διαύλῳ
δορκὰς ἀριστεύσει· μερόπων δ' ἐναρίθμιος οὐδεὶς
ἐν ποσίν· ὦ κοῦφοι ἀσκήτορες ἄθλιοι ἄνδρες
* * * * * *
καὶ ταῦρος πυγμῇ στεφθήσεται * *
* ὄνος * λὰξ εἰ βούλετ' ἐρίσσας
αὐτὸν τὸν στέφανον μὲν ἀποίσεται * *
αὐτὰρ ἐν ἱστορίῃ πολυπείρῳ γράψεται *
παγκράτιον νίκησέ ποτ' ἀνέρας * *
Εἰκοστὴ καὶ πρῶτα Ὀλυμπιὰς ἣν ὅτ' ἐνίκα
ὀγκήτης.

This fragment of an unknown poet differs essentially, both in form and manner, from the Brute-fable as treated by later writers. By these, the didactic part appears only in the form of an epimythium, whilst in the fragment, the moral not only prompts the invention of the fable, but is the pervading and ruling element of the whole composition. This essential difference of character should caution us against the belief that we have before us a remnant of the hexameter Μυθικὰ used by Suidas. These verses more probably belong to an earlier period, and are the work of an Ionic poet. And this appears likely, not only because the Brute-fable was, in general, especially cultivated by the Attico-Ionic race, but it is also confirmed by the whole tendency of the poem. For the disparagement of gymnastic exercises was a characteristic trait of the Ionians, and one which strongly distinguished them from their kindred races. I therefore suspect, that these verses are the production of Xenophanes, and that they belonged to his *Silli*, or Parodies, which are evidently but different names for the same work. The second elegy of Xenophanes has altogether the same tendency.

Ἀλλ εἰ μὲν ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν νίκην τις ἄροιτο
ἢ πενταθλεύων, ἔνθα Διὸς τέμενος
παρ' Πίσαο ῥοῇς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ εἴτε παλαίων
ἢ καὶ πυκτοσύνην ἀλγινόεσσαν ἔχων,
εἴτε τὸ δεινὸν ἄεθλον, ὃ παγκράτιον καλέουσιν,
ἀστοῖσιν κ' εἴη κυδρότερος προσορᾶν,

καί κε προεδρίην φανερὴν ἐν ἀγῶσιν ἄροιτο,
καί κεν σῖτ' εἴη δημοσίων κτεάνων.
Ἐκ πόλιος καὶ δῶρον, ὅ οἱ κειμήλιον εἴη,
εἴτε καὶ ἵπποισιν ταῦτά κε πάντα λάχοι,
οὐκ ὢν ἄξιος ὥσπερ ἐγώ.

Nay, the very form and manner in which the brute creation is contrasted with the human race, remind us of the verses of Xenophanes in *Clem. Alex.* vol. v. p. 601: Ἀλλ' εἴ τοι χείρας γ' εἶχον βόες ἠὲ θέοντες, ἢ γράψαι χείρεσσιν ἢ ἔργα τελεῖν ἅπερ ἄνδρες καί κε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποίουν. κ. τ. λ. Even the harshness of expression, as τὸ στάδιον ἀποίσεται, πυγμῇ στεφθήσεται perfectly accords with the diction of Xenophanes.

But we must keep steadfastly in view, that the Brute-fable, during the classical period of Greek literature, was not cultivated as a distinct branch of poetry, whereas it lost none of its popularity in common life, but rather became continually more extended, especially through Æsop, whom we must regard essentially as a narrator of fables. In consequence of that reflective spirit which was a ruling principle of the Greek nation, it lost, during that period, more and more of its original *naïveté*, and was more imbued with the didactic element.

The first attempt at treating the Brute-fable as a distinct branch of poetry, in an elegiac form, was made by Socrates, which will cause us no surprise, when we remember his strong feeling for every thing popular:—

Αἴσωπός ποτ' ἔλεξε Κορίνθιον ἄστυ νέμουσιν
μὴ κρίνειν ἀρετὴν λαοδίκῳ σοφίῃ[2].

But this isolated attempt was followed by no others, and a collection of scattered fables, which had only existed in the mouths of the common people, was certainly not made before the time of Alexander the Great. At this period, the beginning of a new æra, the spirit of the Greek nation underwent a complete transformation, and laid aside earlier forms. At this time there arose a peculiar activity of learned inquirers to rescue from oblivion the treasures of earlier ages, viz. traditionary legends, religious ceremonies, manners, customs, political institutions, &c. &c. Thus there can be no doubt that Demetrius

[2] See my *Poetæ Lyrici*, p. 442.

Phalereus, a disciple of the school of Aristotle, which mainly called into existence that investigating spirit, was the first who prepared a collection of Æsopic fables, of course in prose; and thus the Brute-fable, from being a popular and oral tradition, came to form a portion of Greek literature[3].

Not till this period, after the materials so inviting for a poetical form were collected, can there, in my opinion, be any question of a comprehensive and poetical treatment of the Brute-fable, as we find it in the *Mythiambi* of Babrius. The age of Babrius can certainly not be placed farther back than this epoch. Another reason, namely, the metre he employed, will serve to corroborate this opinion. The Choliambus, which Babrius uses, is, in the classical period of Greek literature, a merely isolated appearance. It was employed only by Hipponax and Ananius, and as these had no predecessors, they had also no immediate imitators. It was not till the age of Alexander that this metre was again brought forward, and it is very remarkable that the first revivers of the Choliambus were Ionic poets, and of the same race as Hipponax and Ananius, viz. Æschrion of Samos or Miletus, and Phœnix of Colophon, a town renowned for song, and sacred to Apollo. These were soon followed by other poets, though chiefly from the east of Greece, as Parmeno of Byzantium, and Hermias of Cyprus. The metre was now naturally adopted also by the Alexandrine poets, Theocritus, Callimachus, and Herodes, though of the last-mentioned we are in total ignorance, both as to his age and circumstances.

It must, however, be remarked, that the choliambic poetry of this period had become essentially changed. We no longer find in it any traces of that severe, unsparing criticism of human life employed by Hipponax; it rises at most to an epigrammatic point, and indeed it may frequently have been employed in epigrams[4]. It would seem that chiefly anecdotes, and similar short stories, were written in choliambic verse, as, for instance, the tale of Ninus, and the inscription on his tomb[5]. To these subjects we must add sketches of character and incidents of common life, and it is to these in particular we must

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[3] Compare Diog. Laert. v. 5. 80, who mentions λόγων Αἰσωπείων συναγωγαὶ among his works.

[4] Compare Æschrion's poem, in Athenæus, VIII. p. 335.

[5] See Athen. XII. p. 350.

trace the name Μιμίαμβοι. The poems of Herodes were festly of this description; in these, moreover, a decidedly tic intention, to which indeed the transition was easy, c fail to be perceived. In addition to this, popular element introduced into them with happy effect, as shewn in the νισμα, or crow-song, of Phœnix[6]. The choliambics of machus are composed in the same way, who decidedly the bitter severity of Hipponax[7]; but does not exclude li satire, as the verses written against Euemerus plainly A considerable portion of the collection consisted of sho ratives and anecdotes; but that Callimachus also com fables is shewn incontestably in fr. 93, which probably f the commencement of a poem.

> Ἄκουε δὴ τὸν αἶνον· ἔν κοτε Τμώλῳ
> δάφνην ἐλαίῃ νεῖκος οἱ πάλαι Λυδοὶ
> λέγουσι θέσθαι.[8]

Of this poem some other fragments are extant. Further, evidently points to the treatment of the Brute-fable:—

> Ἦν κεῖνος οὐνιαντὸς, ᾧ τό τε πτηνόν
> καὶ τοῦν θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸ τετράπουν οὕτως
> ἐφθέγγεθ' ὡς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμηθῆος.

For the Greeks referred the origin of the Brute-fable Golden age, that simple, happy state of nature, in which kind held an immediate intercourse with the brute cre We may also ascribe to Callimachus the verses in Appol (*Lexic. Homer.* v. ἄειδε), which are generally, though rectly, ascribed to Babrius; for a quotation from so o and unknown a poet, and that without mentioning his would be certainly somewhat extraordinary:

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[6] Athen. VIII. p. 539.

[7] Compare Julian. *Ep.* 30: ἡδέως ἐδεξάμην τὸ παρά σου πινάκιον ἀποσταλὲν, ἔχει γὰρ καὶ τὰ διαγράμματα τῶν πρόσθεν βέλτιον, καὶ κατεμόν σώσας αὐτό, προσθεὶς τοὺς ἰάμβους οὐ μάχην ἀείδοντας τὴν Βουπάλειον, κατὰ τὸν Κυρηναῖον ποιητὴν, ἀλλ' οἵους ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ βούλεται τοῖς νόμοις ἁρμόττειν.

[8] Frag. 86, ed. Bentl.

[9] Compare Plato, *Polit.* p. 271 in speaking of the Κρόνου τρόπ says, εἰ δὲ ἐμπιμπλάμενοι σίτων ἐ ποτῶν, διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλ τὰ θηρία μύθους, οἷα δὴ καὶ τα αὐτῶν λέγονται; and Xenoph. II. 7, 13: φασὶ γὰρ, ὅτε φωνήεν ζῶα, τὴν οἶν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότη See also my *Comment. de Cosm tica Antiqua.* (Lips. 1838, foll.)

ταῦτα δ' Αἴσωπος
ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς εἶπεν, ὅντιν' οἱ Δελφοὶ
ἄδοντα μῦθον οὐ καλῶς ἐδέξαντο.

Thus we may see that Callimachus treated the Brute-fable in choliambic verse, and, probably, not in the manner of earlier poets, as an appendage, but as a distinct and independent subject.

And here the question arises, to what age does Babrius belong? The editor of the lately-discovered choliambics despatches this question very briefly, in a note appended to p. 1. He there lays it down as his opinion, that Babrius was a Roman, and that his whole name was *Valerius Babrius*. But what he advances in favour of the Roman origin of the name and of the poet is a very weak argument. It is true that the name Babrius occurs in Roman inscriptions, but the word itself is indubitably of Greek origin, and connected with βαβράζω. And for this reason our poet might pass for a Greek, even if the whole name was Valerius Babrius. But the arguments in favour of the name Valerius rest merely upon the fact that the MS. which Minoides Menas discovered on Mount Athos has the word βαλεβρίου, which agrees, in some respects, with the Harleian MS. in Tyrwhitt, p. 69, which has Βαλερίου, with Βαβρίου written over it. But when we find one name written above another, as in this case (διττογραφία), we are not justified in assuming this to be a double name; and, very probably, βαλεβρίου may have been substituted for Βαμβρίου (BAMBPIOY), which was again corrupted into Βαλερίου. That our poet's real name was Βάβριος, or perhaps better Βαβρίας, is established by the metre in Tzetzes. If the choliambics themselves offered a tolerably certain indication by which we might fix the real age of our poet, no doubt upon the question would exist; but what is here presented to us seems rather to increase the uncertainty. Babrius dedicates his work to Branchus, son of King Alexander. We are in total ignorance as to who these two persons were, and this consequently opens a wide field for conjecture. Boissonade advances a conjecture, in accordance with the view he takes of the Roman origin of the poet, and suggests the Emperor Alexander Severus, whereby the poems are assigned to a later period than any unbiassed critic can well admit.

Dübner, in his *Animadversiones de Babrii* Μυθιάμβοις

(Paris, 1844), which contains some valuable additions to criticism on those poems, endeavours to fix more exactly the age of Babrius in another way, namely, by directing particular attention to the metrical structure of the verse. This criterion is, in many cases, undoubtedly of great weight in determining the age of a poem, but in the present instance, I cannot but regard it as very problematical. For Dübner himself has incontestably proved, that these fables have been several times revised and altered, and that not only by the poet himself, but, in part, undoubtedly, by later writers. Now, assuming that these poems are not here presented to us in their original form, any inference drawn from the metrical structure to determine the age of the real author, viz. Babrius, must be very doubtful. Dübner, who is of the same opinion as Boissonade, that Babrius belongs to the period of the Roman empire, endeavours to shew that the poet has followed the rules of choliambic metre as employed by the Roman poets, so that he places him more especially on an equality with Martial, Petronius, and the later writers, since he admits the anapæst in the first foot, contrary to the practice of Catullus, and he concludes that, therefore, he probably lived after the last-named poet. Independently of what I have already remarked on the uncertainty of metrical criteria in the question before us, I cannot but reject the whole of this argument. Dübner lays down, as the main distinction between the Greek and Roman choliambics, that the Greeks frequently admit the spondee in the fifth foot, whilst the Romans invariably avoid it. But Hipponax is the only poet who uses it frequently in this place; on the contrary, the other Iambic writers, as Æschrion, Phœnix, and the Alexandrine poets, who treated the whole metre artistically, and observed stricter rules, also rejected the spondee, and I know of only two instances where it occurs, viz. in Herodes, in *Etym. Magn.* pp. 411. 41,

Ἄγ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ζήτρειον·

and in Callimachus, in Cramer's *Anecd. Oxon* iv. 399. 25 foll.,

Μήτι παρὰ νόσσῃ δίφρον
Ἄξωσιν, ἐκ δὲ κόμβαχος κυβιστήσῃς·

for thus the fragment should be emended. The Romans, especially Catullus, did but tread in the footsteps of their predecessors, and though Babrius recognizes the same law, it by no

means follows that he drew it from the Roman poets. But does Babrius really avoid the spondee so frequently as Dübner assumes? No, but Dübner only endeavours to establish the rule in Babrius by considering that three passages, at the utmost, in which the spondee occurs, are admissible, and not corrupt readings. Dübner was certainly right in removing the spondee from some passages, but he goes too far in endeavouring to remove it entirely, for he thus forces upon the poet licenses which are not only unpleasing in a much higher degree, but positively inadmissible, as, for instance, the shortening of the vowel before ζ. I think, at all events, that the spondee in Babrius should not be too much restricted, for both Herodes and Callimachus make use of it; and, indeed, as far as the Romans are concerned, Dübner's rule must be limited, for Varro, who probably first used this metre in his Menippean satires, has admitted the spondee. So, likewise, in a trimeter in Nonius, v. *labos*:

Sternit juvencus, quem labos mollem fecit.

And again, in a tetrameter, ibid. v. *calx*:

Labi inoffensum per æquor candidum ad calcem sivit.

Dübner's remark concerning the anapæst in the first foot, appears to be somewhat more probable, for not only the Alexandrine poets, but also Hipponax, avoids this foot, as well as Catullus, whilst it is frequently admitted by the later Roman poets. But there are not sufficient grounds to infer that Babrius drew his metrical forms from the Romans. In the same way as, at a later period, a more unrestricted, or perhaps a more negligent, treatment of the choliambus prevailed among the Romans, a similar phenomenon might possibly take place among the Greeks, though they were perfectly independent of the Romans. Nay, we ought not to infer, even from this, that Babrius wrote after the time of Callimachus and Herodes, or that his metre was a degenerated form of the earlier and stricter structure of the choliambus. For, in questions of metre, licenses and irregularities are not always proofs of what is, chronologically, of a later period; and the case frequently occurs of a poet who, either knowingly and intentionally, or because he finds a difficulty in using the form, does not hold strictly to the prevailing rule, whilst later

poets return to the metrical regularity of an earlier period But, independently of this, I have already remarked how deceiving a criterion is the metre, in an author whose works bear evident marks of having been repeatedly touched up Nor can a minute investigation of the forms of grammar which, throughout these poems, offer many singular constructions, bring us to a satisfactory result; for, to say nothing of the uncertainty which accompanies all such investigations, who can determine precisely, in this case, how much must be set down to the account of the author, and how much to the subsequent reviser? And here I cannot pass over in silence that there are some fables in this collection which make a peculiarly strange impression, and scarcely appear to be the productions of the same author. And we must not be surprised that here and there a poem by another hand should have been thrust into this collection, for we have here evidently *only a selection of the fables of Babrius*, and, besides, nearly the half of this is lost.

We are informed by Suidas, that the fables of Babrius consisted of ten books; Avienus mentions *duo volumina*, but the edition before us bears not the slightest trace of a division into books. For Boissonade is in error if he imagines that the second proœmium, inserted between fables 107 and 108, is to be considered as a preface to the second book. This proœmium as is evidently shewn by the last line,

Ἐκ δευτέρου σοι τήνδε βίβλον ἀείδω,

was the preface which Babrius added at the beginning of the second edition, and, consequently, intended to supply the place of the first proœmium. In the edition of Babrius himself therefore, it did not occupy the same place which it does in the MS. But how comes this second proœmium in the middle of the fables? This question may be answered in the simplest manner. The fables of Babrius appear in the MS. arranged alphabetically, *i. e.* those which have the first line beginning with the letter A are placed first, and so forth. The MS breaks off with the letter O, and thus at least one-third of the collection is wanting. Now, the second proœmium, as it begins with the words

Μῦθος μέν, ὦ παῖ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου,

opens the letter M. But we surely cannot assume that Babrius

arranged his work in this order. This alphabetical order evidently originated with the collector, who prepared this selection from the entire work of Babrius. For that it is only a species of anthology, follows from the fact that Tzetzes was acquainted with the complete work, or at least with a much larger collection, for, in *Chil.* XIII. 257 foll., he quotes a fable from the Mythiambics of Babrius, which begins with the line

Γάλλοις ἀγύρταις εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπράθη.

This fable begins with the letter Γ, but is wanting in the present MS. I pass over other fragments of Babrius, as these may have been borrowed from the fables which belong to the concluding letters of the alphabet. We must, consequently, keep steadfastly in view, that we have not here the complete work of Babrius, but only a selection, in which the original order is destroyed; and further, that the fables themselves bear evidence of additions and alterations by a later hand, from which it appears almost impossible to determine the age of the poet with any degree of certainty.

In rejecting the evidence as unsatisfactory, which offers itself with respect to the form, there arises another question, viz. whether we can discover in the subject-matter any points or personal allusions, by which we may arrive at some conclusion. With this view we naturally direct our attention especially to the Proœmia, because in these the poet speaks in his own person, and also because we cannot suppose that here the revising hand of the later editor would have been applied, as in the fables themselves. The first Proœmium contains, at first sight, nothing particularly suggestive: it is addressed to a child named Branchus. In the second proœmium, we have the same Branchus more particularly designated as the son of King Alexander. This, certainly, does not solve the problem. But it is necessary that I should here give the whole Proœmium:

Μῦθος μέν, ὦ παῖ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου
Σύρων παλαιῶν ἐστιν εὕρεμ' ἀνθρώπων,
οἳ πρίν ποτ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ Νίνου τε καὶ Βήλου.
Πρῶτος δὲ πᾶσιν εἶπε παισὶν Ἑλλήνων
Αἴσωπος ὁ σοφός· εἶπε καὶ Λιβυστῖνος
λόγους Κιβύσσης, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ νεῇ μούσῃ

[10] This is the true reading of the passage, which neither Boissonade nor Dübner has restored correctly. The MS. has λίβυς τινὸς λόγου Διβύσσης. The

δίδωμι, καθαρῷ χρυσίῳ χαλινώσας
τὸν μυθίαμβον, ὥσπερ ἵππον ὁπλίτην.
Ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ πρώτου τῆς θύρας ἀνοιχθείσης,
εἰσῆλθον ἄλλοι, καὶ σοφωτέρας μούσης
γρίφοις ὁμοίας ἐκφέρουσι ποιήσεις
μαθόντες οὐδὲν πλεῖον ἢ με γινώσκειν.
Ἐγὼ δὲ λευκῇ μυθιάζομαι ῥήσει,
καὶ τῶν ἰάμβων τοὺς ὀδόντας οὐ θήγω.
Ἀλλ' εὖ πυρώσας, εὖ δὲ κέντρα πρηΰνας,
ἐκ δευτέρου σοι τήνδε βίβλον ἀείδω.

From these lines, especially from the words *νέῃ μούσῃ δίδωμι τὸν μυθίαμβον*, and *ὑπ' εμοῦ δὲ πρώτου τῆς θύρας ἀνοιχθείσης*, it decidedly follows that Babrius was the first who treated the Brute-fable as a distinct branch of poetical composition. We must wholly reject the idea of any pretended ignorance of his predecessors, or any vain overrating of his own powers on the part of the poet, for he strongly declares that, in imitation of him, other writers were excited to a similar species of poetry. But since Callimachus wrote fables, and in choliambic verse, and since it is impossible that the prior existence of so eminent a poet could have been unknown to Babrius, it follows that *Babrius composed his Mythiambics earlier than Callimachus.* This perfectly accords with the assertion at the conclusion of the first proœmium, which may be restored, perhaps, as follows:

ὡς ἂν δ' ἕκαστον ἐντιθῇς ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ,
μελισταγές σοι τοῦτο κηριὸν θήσω,
πικρῶν ἰάμβων σκληρὰ κῶλα μαλθάξας.

This, at least, appears to point to the fact, that the choliambic poetry, which, ever since the time of Hipponax, had been notorious for its bitterest sarcasm, was, at the time in which Babrius wrote, comparatively new, and had not yet assumed a milder spirit. But who are those poets who followed the example of Babrius with such alacrity, which he so pointedly and obviously alludes to by the *σοφωτέρα μοῦσα*, and by that mysterious, obscure poetry, *γρίφοις ὁμοῖαι ποιήσεις*, which he contrasts with his own perspicuous and simple style?

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poet evidently speaks of him who first communicated the Libyan fables to the Greeks: but this was Kibysthus, or Kibysses (Kibyssos). Compare Diogenian. *Proœm. Proverb.*

Babrius evidently belongs to an age of stirring poetical activity, when experiments were made in all kinds of poetry, and in which the happy idea he had conceived of treating the Brute-fable poetically was immediately taken up by a number of imitators; and the more these latter, by an over-refined improvement of the form, obscured the plain, homely narrative of Babrius, the more natural does it appear, that this poet, in a second and improved edition of his Mythiambics, would do all in his power to secure to himself the merit of priority. But the poet whom Babrius here so clearly delineates, can scarcely be any other than Callimachus[11]; and we may even now prove that Callimachus was not only, in common with others, incited by the example of Babrius to compose fables in a poetical form, but also that he was particularly an imitator of Babrius himself. For the Fragment 87 of Callimachus was evidently a part of the introduction to his Mythiambics, and is a close imitation of the proœmium to the first edition of Babrius. Babrius says:

Γενεὴ δικαίων ἦν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων,
ὦ Βράγχε τέκνον, ἣν καλοῦσι χρυσείην.—
Ἐπὶ τῆς δὲ χρυσῆς, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ζῴων
φωνὴν ἔναρθρον εἶχε καὶ λόγους ᾔδει·
ἀγοραὶ δὲ τούτων ἦσαν ἐν μέσαις ὕλαις.
Ἐλάλει δὲ πέτρα καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς πεύκης·
ἐλάλει δὲ πόντος[12], *Βράγχε, νηῖ καὶ ναύταις. κ.τ.λ.*

Callimachus says the same thing in a more concise form:

Ἦν κεῖνος οὐνιαυτὸς, ᾧ τό τε πτηνὸν
καὶ τοὺν θαλάσσῃ καὶ τὸ τετράπουν οὕτως
ἐφθέγγεθ' ὡς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμηθῆος.

The similarity in the treatment is strikingly obvious, though the thought itself belongs to neither poet, but had its root, as I before remarked, in the national mind of the Greeks. We may perhaps reluctantly admit the idea, that so renowned a poet as Callimachus should have imitated an obscure writer like Babrius; but we must remember that Callimachus is by no means an original, inventive poet, but pre-eminently re-

[11] Compare the Epigram of Philippus, which Boissonade quotes in explanation of the adjective λευκός.

Γιγνώσκοιμ' ὅσα λευκὸν ἔχει στίχον· ἡ δὲ μέλαινα
Ἱστορίη τήκοι τοὺς Περικαλλιμάχους.

[12] πόντος should be written for πόντιος ἰχθύς. The sea is often introduced in the fable conversing, in the same way as trees and rocks.

markable for the finished perfection of the forms of his compositions, and the skill with which he re-produced the ideas of earlier writers in a new dress. Of this I shall cite but one example, which also is in the choliambic metre. The well-known beautiful legend of the Cup of Thales, although extremely simple, was treated by Callimachus in a choliambic poem; and, if we may judge from the numerous fragments of it extant, must have been one of that poet's most pleasing and popular works, as he was a consummate master of the talent of working out the smallest, and apparently the most insignificant materials into an artistic form, even to their minutest details. But here again Callimachus has not the merit of originality, for Phœnix, an obscure poet in comparison with Callimachus, had long before treated this legend, which originally belonged to his native country Ionia, as the fragment in Athenæus XI. p. 495, shews:

> Θαλῆς γὰρ ὅστις ἀστέρων ὀνήϊστος
> καὶ τῶν τόθ', ὥς λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων
> ἐὼν ἄριστος, ἔλαβε πελλίδα χρυσῆν[13].

Compare with this, Callimachus, fragm. 94.

> Ἔπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον, ἦν γὰρ ἡ νίκη
> Θάλητος, ὅστ' ἦν ἄλλα δέξιος γνώμῃ,
> καὶ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμήσασθαι
> τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ᾗ πλέουσι Φοίνικες.

It is very likely that others, as well as Callimachus, were excited by the example of Babrius, and thus the treatment of the Brute-fable in Hexameter and Elegiac verse, of which several fragments are preserved in Suidas, probably occurred at this period. But again, who is Babrius, and to what country does he belong? These are questions to which no satisfactory answer can be given, without some fresh sources of information. Babrius, who dedicates his fables to the young Branchus (ὦ Βράγχε τέκνον), the son of King Alexander (ὦ παῖ

[13] In the first line, ἀστέρων is evidently correct, where the poet alludes to the astronomical knowledge of Thales, but there must be somewhere another error, for we cannot connect ὀνήϊστος with ἀστέρων: perhaps a word may be lost. But though Athenæus adds the words: καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ μέρει φησίν. Ἐκ πελλίδος κ.τ.λ., it is wrong to refer this line to the same poem, for it has nothing whatever to do with it, as is shewn in the expression of Athenæus, ἐν ἄλλῳ μέρει, and not ὑποβάς, or ἔπειτα.

βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου), may probably have been that prince's tutor, as in that period, philosophers, poets, and men of a refined education in general, were intrusted with that office. At all events, the work is a poetical treatment of the Æsopic fables, arranged *in usum Delphini*, and probably based upon the collection of Demetrius Phalereus. Babrius himself was perhaps a native of Asia Minor, for, as I have before observed, Choliambic poetry was first revived by the Ionians; at any rate, he is intimately acquainted with the condition of the East, which will cause us no surprise, when we remember the great extension of intercourse among nations, which immediately followed the reign of Alexander the Great: thus the conclusion of Fable 57 decidedly points to an acquaintance with the Arabians:

> Ἐντεῦθεν Ἄραβές εἰσιν ὡς ἐπειράθην,
> Ψεῦσταί τε καὶ γόητες, ὧν ἐπὶ γλώσσης
> Οὐδὲν κάθηται ῥῆμα τῆς ἀληθείας.

For that a lively intercourse subsisted between the Greeks and Arabians during the period after Alexander the Great, may be inferred from the fact that we even find Greek colonies in Arabia, probably founded by the Seleucidæ[14]. But such a directly subjective expression can have been made only by Babrius himself, and not by one of his later editors. Indeed the whole fable is evidently not constructed upon the older Æsopic model, but is rather an invention of Babrius himself: for the sad experience which the poet himself had made of the dishonesty of the Arabians, led him to the witty idea of the waggon of Hermes, which leaves its load of lies with the Arabians. At an earlier period, on the contrary, the Arabians had a reputation of great honesty with the Greeks[15].

But who is this King Alexander? This name occurs very often during the period after Alexander the Great, and also, frequently accompanied with the title of king, which renders it very difficult to answer this question with precision. We might perhaps suppose him to have been Alexander of Epirus, were it not that his sons' names were Pyrrhus and Ptolomæus[16], and

[14] For information upon this point, I refer the reader to Droysen's excellent treatise, *Ueber die Hellenistischen Colonien des Ostens*, see Geschichte des Hellenismus, Vol. II. p. 745.

[15] Compare Herodot. III. 8, σίβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα.

[16] See Droysen, Vol. II. p. 295.

there is no mention made of Branchus. In my opinion, we should rather turn our thoughts towards Alexander the son of Craterus, who revolted from the Macedonians, and made himself ruler over Eubœa and Corinth[17]. This Alexander succeeded in maintaining his dangerous position at Corinth, and was at length poisoned by Antigonus in the year 244; his widow, Nicæa, resided in the Acropolis of Corinth, till she was expelled by the cunning and treachery of the Macedonians[18]. Nicæa, who fortunately escaped with her treasures, then lived, as Meineke conjectures[19], in Athens, or Chalcis; of these towns I am inclined to adopt rather the latter, for Athens was entirely under Macedonian influence, and Chalcis, which had then long been the general place of rendezvous for fugitives from every part of Greece, appears more suitable. Here was formed the amour between her and the Chalcidian poet Euphorion, which is mentioned by Suidas.

But to return to our subject, I consider Branchus as the son of Alexander of Corinth and Nicæa; and Babrius may perhaps have dedicated the first edition of his fables to this young prince, at his father's court at Corinth, about 250 years B.C. We cannot consider this work of a much earlier date, because Callimachus composed his Choliambics in imitation of Babrius, and the age of Callimachus' activity in poetry and grammar cannot be placed much farther back than the year 240. The second edition, on the other hand—the one in which Branchus is addressed as the son of King Alexander—must have been written after Alexander's death, that is, soon after the year 241. This is inferred from an allusion it contains to political circumstances, which is so clear and so positive as scarcely to admit of our mistaking it, and furnishes in itself a fresh argument in favour of my theory of the age of Babrius. On a close inspection, many allusions to this period will be found in these fables, but as it would exceed the necessary limits of this paper to discuss them in detail, I shall confine myself to one example. The 85th fable, which, for the reader's clearer understanding, I here quote, runs thus:

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[17] Compare Suidas, v. Εὐφοριών—τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Εὐβοίας, υἱοῦ δὲ Κρατεροῦ γυναικὸς Νικίας (Νικαίας) στερξάσης αὐτὸν, εὔπορος σφόδρα γεγονὼς ἦλθε πρὸς Ἀντίοχον. See Droysen, Vol. II. p. 215.

[18] See Droysen, Vol. II. p. 371, fol.

[19] *Analect. Alex.* p. 9.

Κυσίν ποτ' ἔχθρα καὶ λύκοις συνειστήκει.
Κύων δ' Ἀχαιὸς ᾑρέθη κυνῶν δήμου
στατηγὸς εἶναι. Καὶ μάχης ἐπιστήμων
ἔμελλεν, ἐβράδυνεν. Οἱ δ' ἐπηπείλουν,
εἰ μὴ προτάξῃ τὴν μάχην ἐνεδρεύσεως[20]
Ἀκούσατ', εἶπεν, οὗ χάριν διατρίβω,
τί δ' εὐλαβοῦμαι· χρὴ δ' ἀεὶ προβουλεύειν.
τῶν μὲν πολεμίων τῶν γένος, ὧν ὁρῶ πάντων
ἓν ἐστιν· ἡμῶν δ' ἦλθον οἱ μὲν ἐκ Κρήτης,
οἱ δ' ἐκ Μολοσσῶν εἰσὶν, οἱ δ' Ἀκαρνάνων,
ἄλλοι δὲ Δόλοπες· οἱ δὲ Κύπρον ἢ Θρᾴκην
αὐχοῦσιν· ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλοθεν· τί μηκύνω;
τὸ χρῶμα δ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ἕν ἐστιν ὡς τούτοις.
Ἄλλοι μὲν ἡμῶν μέλανες, οἱ δὲ τεφρώδεις·
ἔνιοι δὲ λαμπροὶ καὶ διάργεμοι στήθη,
ἄλλοι δὲ λευκοί· πῶς ἂν σὺν δυνηθείην
εἰς πόλεμον ἄρχειν, εἶπε, τῶν ἀσυμφώνων
πρὸς τοὺς ὅμοια πάντ' ἔχοντας ἀλλήλοις.
Συμφωνία μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις·
τὸ δὲ στασιάζον, ἀσθενές τε καὶ δοῦλον.

A first glance at this fable makes it clear that we have not here one of the old, naive Æsopic fables. This is shewn by the poorness of the fable, which is altogether deficient in action and vividness. We have here rather a fable of the poet's own invention, which forms an exception to the others, and which almost appears to have been invented to serve as an example of the moral which concludes the fable, whilst in the old genuine fables, the epilogue being the result of the fable, grows out of it, as it were, spontaneously. How strange it is that an Achæan dog is chosen general! Had it been a genuine simple Brute-fable, we should have expected that the poet would rather have introduced a Laconian dog, or even a Molossian, or Cretan, which are mentioned by the poet afterwards. Nothing more is known of the excellence of the Achæan breed of dogs, than that Pollux, v. 37 and 40, mentions κύνες Ψυλλικοὶ or Κυψελλικοὶ, so named ἀπὸ πόλεως Ἀχαϊκῆς, a piece of information which, moreover, is very problematical. The epitomizer, in the Bodleian MS., apud Tyrwhitt, p. CLXVII. very

[20] The passage, I think, should be read thus, which is not given correctly in Boissonade. Perhaps we may also retain the dative ἐνεδρεύσει, for Babrius has many singular forms of construction.

naturally omits this passage; he says, in a general sense: Λύκ
καὶ κυσὶν ἦν ποτε ἔχθρα, κύων δὲ Ἕλλην ἠρέθη στρατηγὸς κυσ
&c., evidently because Achæan and Hellenic were, in his mi
synonymous. But the poet, who wrote Κύων Ἀχαιὸς ἠρ
κυνῶν δήμου στρατηγὸς εἶναι, had evidently the Achæan leag
in his thoughts; and who other can be intended by that c
tious general than Aratus, the soul of that league? The wolv
the enemies of the dogs, are no other than the Ætolian leag
But it is not necessary to confine ourselves to these generaliti
we must advance a step further, and search for the exact sit
tion which the poet had in his thoughts. I have no doubt t
Babrius here alludes to Aratus's third strategy, which belo
to the year 241. In the year before, the Ætolians, in lea
with the Macedonians, had undertaken a predatory expe
tion into Peloponnesus, in their genuine character of *l*
raptores. Their purpose was the utter annihilation of
Achæan league; and with this view, they collected all
resources they could command. In the year 241, the Ætoli
prepared for a fresh incursion. In the meantime, Agis l
effected his reforms in Sparta, and advanced with a cho
band to the assistance of Aratus, who had been, for the th
time, elected general of the league. Agis and his Spartans,
well as the Achæans, burned with the desire of being befo
hand with the enemy, and preventing them from again ent
ing Peloponnesus. But nothing could induce the cauti
Aratus to quit his stronghold at Corinth; he even let
Spartans return home, and looked calmly on, while the Ætoli
invaded Peloponnesus, and took the town of Pellene: l
when they were busy in the work of depredation, and li
dreaming of an attack, Aratus burst in upon them with
men, and gained a complete victory over the Ætolians. T
proceeding perfectly accords with the character of Aratus.
was celebrated for his personal courage, which he displa
on many occasions. His military talents are of no mean ord
but he is, above all things, a statesman, and this statesman-li
nature evinces itself even in war, for he generally gained
victories by treachery, bribes, sudden surprises, and amb
cades. And never was Aratus so harshly and cuttingly
proached with over-cautiousness in his proceedings as in t
very year, although the successful result of his manageme
completely silenced all censure. Compare Plut. *Arat.*

ὁ δ' Ἄρατος εὐδοκίμησε καὶ περὶ τὰς Αἰτωλικὰς πράξεις· ὅτε συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ὡρμημένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, Ἄγιδος, ἀφικνουμένου μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ συνεξορμῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ἐναντιωθεὶς, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὀνείδη, πολλὰ δ' εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν σκώμματα καὶ χλευασμὸν ὑπομείνας, οὐ τροήκατο τὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρόν: compare also Droysen, vol. II. p. 389, foll. This passage furnishes us with a complete commentary on Babrius's fable, which indeed is in itself nothing more than a defence of Aratus against the reproaches with which he was assailed on all sides. We may even assume that the fable was composed in the summer of the year 241, *i.e.* before the battle of Pellene, since after that event such a defence would have been out of place; and then, at least, the poet must have shewn in his fable how the general's caution was justified by the result. And we need not be surprised that Babrius undertakes to vindicate Aratus; for King Alexander, in the latter part of his life, had been upon friendly terms with the Achæans, and Aratus was always the implacable enemy of the Macedonians, by whom Nicæa had been so shamefully deceived.

As this fable of Babrius can be rightly viewed only by means of the above-stated historical fact, so, on the other hand, the fable itself throws some light on the real events of the time. We perceive from Babrius that it was chiefly the condition of the Achæan army which obliged Aratus to use such caution; for the army of the league evidently consisted, for the most part, of mercenaries. In Babrius, the names of the dogs are surely not chosen by accident, but distinctly mark the principal classes of mercenaries. Acarnanians, as well as Dolopians and Molossians, may have served in great numbers under the Achæan banners, in order to continue the struggle with their mortal enemies the Ætolians, who had divided the unfortunate and ill-used Acarnania with Epirus. Thracians are everywhere found as mercenary troops, and we must not be surprised to meet with even Cretans and Cypriots in the Achæan army, when we consider the state of warfare in those times. The two federative leagues, which then exercised powerful influence upon the history of Greece, are in this point, as in so many others, diametrically opposed to each other; for the federative principle, which then first acquired an independent

development in Greece, alongside of the monarchical principle, became realized in both the confederations, in an essentially different manner. The Achæan league, in its internal arrangement, is founded upon the idea of the equal rights of the individual states; and this is its chief strength; its external policy is built rather upon a refined diplomacy than on military power, its armed force was evidently not in a particularly good condition[21]. The cavalry, especially, which should have formed the main strength of the army, and in which the Achæans themselves specially served, was now in a completely disorganized and undisciplined condition. Here, again, the misconduct of the recruits continually increased, and the hipparchs, who only sought to gain popularity, connived at every abuse[22]. The circumstances of the Ætolian league were altogether different; it was internally wanting in that honest unity by which each town preserved its independence; for besides certain dominating towns, which formed the nucleus of the league, we meet with others which were tributary and subordinate, and others again which were more like allies, and, in short, a great variety of relations; all this, however, in a rough, undeveloped state, and not pervaded by any leading idea. For this very reason, however, the Ætolian league presented a more powerful and formidable aspect from without, since its policy was founded essentially upon its military force. Thus the Ætolian army formed a compact, well-ordered, and, to a certain degree, well-disciplined body of men, who were always ready to execute the commands of the council [ἀπόκλητοι], and spread terror through the whole of Greece by their predatory excursions. The fabulist Babrius gives us a glimpse of this state of things; and as the fable can be clearly illustrated only by means of history, so also, on its side, does it contribute to the proper understanding of historical circumstances.

THEODOR BERGK.

Marburg, Jan. 15, 1845.

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[21] Compare the description in Plut. *Arat.* 47, which indeed belongs to a somewhat later period, but implies a long degeneration and decline of military discipline. Τελευτήσαντος δ' Ἀντιγόνου, καταφρονήσαντες Αἰτωλοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν, (ἐθισθέντες γὰρ ἀλλοτρίαις σώζεσθαι χερσὶ, καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόνων ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ὑπεσταλκότες ἐν ἀγρίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ ἀταξίᾳ διῆγον,) ἐπέθεντο τοῖς κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πράγμασι· and further, of Aratus: Καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀγυμνάστους ὄντας, καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις ἐκλελυμένους πρός τε πόλεμον, ἠττᾶται περὶ Καφύας.

[22] Compare Polyb. x. 25, Plut. *Philop*, 7.

X.

BAALBEC, PALMYRA, AND THE EXTREME NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDS OF THE LAND ASSIGNED TO THE ISRAELITES.

Baalbec, בעל בקעה, Baal Bekaa.

Cœle-Syria proper is still, and has been from the most ancient times, called the Bekaa, "the valley;" it is so denominated by Joshua, who calls it "the valley of Lebanon," בקעת הלבנון (xi. 17, xii. 7); and by the prophet Amos (i. 5), בקעת און. It is situated between the two ridges of mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus; it is about two leagues and a half in breadth[1]. Its name Bekaa, is, by some writers, incorrectly, through ignorance of the Hebrew language, derived from בכא, a shrub so called, or probably the mulberry-tree. In Psalm lxxxiv. 7 is the expression עמק בכא, "the valley of Baca," or, "of the mulberry-tree," or, "of weeping," deriving it from בכה, flevit. But this is quite different from the Hebrew word בקעה, by which "the valley" between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon is specially denominated.

In the northern part of this valley is situated the ancient Heliopolis of Syria, so called by the Greek writers, from its having, as the city of the same name in Egypt, a temple dedicated to the worship of the Sun. The present name of the city is Baalbec, so celebrated for its splendid architectural remains, particularly the magnificent ruins of the Temple of the Sun. I shall shew that the meaning of the word Baalbec is, "the

[1] Travels of Lieut. Col. Squire, *Mod. Traveller*, Syria, p. 158. "This plain extends in length from Baalbec almost to the sea, and its breadth from Libanus to Anti-Libanus appears to be, in few places less than two leagues, or more than four." (Maundrell.) Strabo says, Δύο δὲ ἐστὶν ὄρη τὰ ποιοῦντα τὴν κοίλην καλουμένην Συρίαν, ὡς ἂν παράλληλα, ὅ,τε Λίβανος καὶ ὁ Ἀντιλίβανος. In other passages, however, he represents Cœle-Syria as vastly more extensive, but says, that the region properly so called is that between the two chains of mountains: ἅπασα μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Σελευκίδος, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀνίσχουσα χώρα, Κοιλησυρία καλεῖται· ἰδίως δ' ἡ τῷ Λιβάνῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀντιλιβάνῳ ἀφορισμένη. (xvi.)

temple of the sun of the valley;" and that the expression in Amos, בקעת און, (I. 5), means "the valley of the temple of the sun." In our authorized version, the words of Amos are translated "the plain of *Aven;*" the word being read אָוֶן, Aven, according to the Masoretic punctuation; but in the Septuagint the translation is Ὦν: the authors of that version having read the Hebrew word אוֹן On, as in Gen. XLI. 45. 50, where mention is made of Joseph having married the daughter of the priest of On, כוהן אוֹן, which the Septuagint translate ἱερέως Ἡλιουπόλεως. In Exod. I. 11, the Septuagint mention On as one of the cities built by the Israelites—καὶ Ὦν ἡ ἐστὶν Ἡλιούπολις, but there are no corresponding words in the Hebrew. Ὦν ἐστὶν Ἡλιούπολις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, says Eusebius (*Onomast. Urb. et Loc. Sac. Scrip.*) Herodotus speaks of the religious festivals celebrated at Heliopolis in Egypt, in honour of the Sun: πανηγύρις . . . ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ (II. 59). Strabo mentions the temple of the Sun which he had seen there: ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου πόλις . . . τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα τοῦ ἡλίου, (XVII. p. 805)[2] The word און in Amos is, by some of the ancient interpreters, following the Masoretic punctuation, translated inutile, iniquitas, and, by Vitringa, vanitas. "Vallem illustrem inter Libanum et Antilibanum mediam quæ hoc tempore Bocat (so called by Maundrell) dicatur, eadem haud dubie quæ Amoso בקעת און, vallis vanitatis." (*Comment. in Jesaiam*, pars I. p. 497.) Following the Masoretic punctuation, the words may be translated "the valley of falsehood, or of idols." But if we follow the Septuagint, we shall translate them, "the valley of the temple of the sun;" and this perfectly accords with the name given to the chief town in the valley, Baalbec, "the temple of the sun of the valley," בקעת און and בקעת בעל, that is, "the valley of On," and, "the valley of Baal," being exactly synonymous expressions. Baal and On are both titles of the Sun. Cyril, in his Comment. on Hosea, says, Ὦν δ' ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς (the Egyptians) ὁ ἥλιος. "Baal is a Babylonish title appropriated to the Sun, and made use of particularly in Syria and Canaan." (Bryant's *Mythol.* Vol. I. p. 54; and

[2] Strabo says that the city was, in his time, totally desolate, and that the temple retained many marks of the madness and sacrilege of Cambyses: νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐστι πανέρημος ἡ πόλις, τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ τρόπῳ κατεσκευασμένον ἀρχαῖον, ἔχον πολλὰ τεκμήρια τῆς Καμβύσου μανίας καὶ ἱεροσυλίας. (p. 805.)

Bochart, *Geog. Sac.* pars post. lib. I. c. 42.) The syllable *bec*, in the word Baalbec, is the abbreviation of the word Becaa, and Baalbecaa; בעל בקעה, "the Baal," or "temple of the Sun of the valley;" Baal or the Sun having been worshipped there in a very remote period of antiquity. Pococke erroneously supposes Baalbec to be a corruption of Baalbeit, the house of Baal. The name of Heliopolis is given to the place by the Greek and Roman writers, but it still retains its original name of Baalbec; for, as Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. XIV.) observes, the Greek names of places in Asia were never adopted by the natives.

It will be curious to consider the account which the earliest of modern travellers, or rather, one who belonged to the middle ages, gives of Baalbec, and see how it accords with the accounts of recent travellers. Benjamin of Tudela, a native of Spain, who returned from his travels in the year 1173, thus speaks of Baalbec: "And from thence (Salcah) I came to Baalbic לבעל ביק (ביק the abbreviation for בקעה), and this is Baaleth in the valley of Lebanon, which Solomon built for the daughter of Pharaoh; and the structure of the palace (the temple) is of vast stones; the length of each stone is twenty spans, and the breadth twelve spans; and there is nothing between stone and stone (ואין בין אבן ואבן כלום) (that is, there is no cement), and men say that this structure was not built but by the hands of Asmodaius[3]. And at the head of the city a great spring issues forth, and flows through the midst of the city like a large river; and on its banks are mills and gardens and orchards, in the midst of the city." If we compare this account of Benjamin with the most recent description of the place, we shall find it wonderfully exact. "In the wall which encompassed some of the buildings at Baalbec, the stones still to be seen are of vast magnitude; three of the stones, which lie end to end in the same row, extend sixty-one yards in length, depth and breadth four yards each." (Maundrell.) Other travellers (Pococke Richardson, &c.) equally attest the amazing dimensions of the stones. Josephus mentions the vast size of the stones used in the construction of the walls, towers, and temple of Jerusalem. Some used in the walls were twenty cubits long and ten broad. (*De Bello Jud.* lib. v. c. 4.) Those used in the construction

[3] *Ἀσμοδαῖος τὸ πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον.* (Septuagint, Book of Tobit, III. 8.)

of the principal towers were of equal dimensions; but those used in the construction of the temple were twenty-five cubits long, twelve broad, and eight thick (*Antiq.* lib. xv. c. 11); and some of them even nearly double this length. (*De Bello Jud.* p. 1228, ed. Huds.) It is amusing to read Jenning's sceptical observations (*Jewish Antiq.* b. 2, c. 1) on the account given by Josephus of the magnitude of these stones. "I apprehend it would puzzle all the mathematicians of the present age to contrive machines by which stones of such prodigious weight and size as those mentioned by Josephus could be raised and managed. We are to consider he wrote before the invention of printing, when books could not be soon and easily published and dispersed into many hands as they now are. It is possible, therefore, a vain desire of exalting the glory of his nation, might prevail with him, in some cases, above a strict regard to truth, when it was probable none who were able to contradict him might ever see his book; or if they should, and were of his own nation, they would not be inclined to do it."

But many of the ancient nations constructed buildings on a scale of such vast magnificence, and with materials so gigantic, that their ruins even strike the spectator with amazement: The very ruins of which astonish us, as Niebuhr says when speaking of the old Etruscan cities. (*Hist. of Rome*, Vol. i. p. 129, 3rd ed.) The great architectural works of the Etruscans and of the Romans were built by compulsory labour. (Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 15, and Niebuhr as above.) Etruscan artists were employed by the Roman kings. (Liv. lib. i. c. 55.) Tyrian artists were employed by Solomon. (1 Kings, v. and vii. 13, 14; Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. viii. p. 341.)

Benjamin of Tudela says there is *no cement* between the large stones in the buildings at Baalbec: this is attested by modern travellers. Maundrell, speaking of the lofty columns of the great temple, says: "It is remarkable that the shafts of these columns consist of three pieces, most exactly joined together *without cement*, which is used in no part of these buildings; they being only strengthened with iron pins received into a socket worked in each stone." Lieutenant-Colonel Squire, in his Travels, observes, "The workmanship of the buildings at Baalbec is excellent; the stones are large, and so closely joined together *without cement*, that the blade of a knife could not be inserted between them." (*Mod. Trav. Syria*, p. 197, note.)

Benjamin remarks, that men say the buildings were erected by the hands of Asmodaius, the evil spirit. Maundrell says, "the stones are of such a prodigious size, that the present natives of the country ascribe this piece of architecture to the devil."

Of the river mentioned by Benjamin, Maundrell says, "the Litane rises from Antilibanus, a little to the north of Baalbec, and receives great increase from *a fine spring close to the city walls.*" Thus we find that Benjamin's brief account of Baalbec is substantiated by the more ample descriptions of modern travellers.

Palmyra, or Tadmor.

Palmyra, by the Greek and Roman writers. Palmyra, or Palmira, and Θαδαμόρα, by Josephus. תַּדְמוֹרָא, Syriac. תַּדְמוֹר, Hebrew.

Under the reigns of David and Solomon, the Hebrew dominions were extended as far north as Thapsacus on the Euphrates. (2 Sam. viii. 3; 1 Chron. xviii. 3; 1 Kings iv. 21. 24; in the Heb. it is v. 1. 4.) In this northern part of his dominions Solomon built Tadmor, which afterwards became so celebrated in Roman history under the name of Palmyra: "And Solomon built Tadmor in the wilderness." (1 Kings ix. 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4.) "Solomon marching into the desert of Upper Syria," says Josephus, "built there a large city." (*Antiq.* lib. viii. c. 6, p. 354.) In the Book of Kings it is written תמר, which means a palm-tree; but it is corrected, in the margin, by the Masorets, and read תדמר, as it is in 2 Chron. In the Septuagint, according to the Vatican manuscript, it is, in Kings, ᾠκοδόμησε τὴν Θέρμαι: in Chron. Θοεδμὸρ. In the Alexandrine manuscript it is, in Kings, Θερμάθ; in Chron. Θεδμὸρ: it is Θερμοὼθ by Eusebius, in locis Hebraicis. (*Onomast.*)

Josephus describes Palmyra as being two days journey from Upper Syria, one from the Euphrates, and six from Babylon; and says that the springs of water there induced Solomon to build in that particular place. (*Antiq.* lib. viii. c. vi. p. 354.)

I do not know that any writer has satisfactorily explained the word Palmyra, or the word Tadmor, the name given to the city by Solomon. It is said to have derived its name of

Palmyra from the multitude of palm-trees for which the place was remarkable. "Amid the barren deserts of Arabia," says Gibbon, "a few cultivated spots rise like islands out of the sandy ocean. Even the name of Tadmor, or Palmyra, by its signification in the Syriac, as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm-trees which afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region." (Vol. II. c. 11.) Notwithstanding the laborious accuracy of investigation which may be ascribed to this historian, yet, here, he is incorrect in both points. Tadmor does not denote the multitude of palm-trees; has no relation whatsoever to a palm-tree, but the word תמר which has been assumed as the reading in the Hebrew text, 1 Kings, IX. 18, signifies a palm-tree; but this word, supposed to be in the Hebrew text, originates from the faulty omission of the letter ד, and in the Hebrew text of 1 Kings IX. 18, is written thus, תַּמֹר, evidencing the omission of a letter, which is supplied by the marginal correction of the Masorets, and read תדמר, as it is in 2 Chron. VIII. 4. The name Palmyra cannot be derived from palma, a palm-tree. Had the name of the place been derived from the multitude of palm-trees, it would have been called Palmetum. Another derivation is given in a note in Hudson's Josephus—quasi condita ἐφ' ἁλμυρᾷ, scilicet γῇ. This derivation may be illustrated by what Wood remarks respecting the nature of the ground in the vicinity. "About three or four miles to the S.E. of the ruins, in the desert, is the Valley of Salt (supposed to be the place where David smote the Syrians (2 Sam. VIII. 13), which now supplies, in a great measure, Damascus and the neighbouring towns with that commodity. We went to see it, and found they had hollowed the ground in several places deep enough to receive a foot or more of the rain-water, which, when once lodged, covers the part so hollowed with a fine white salt. Wherever we could thrust the Arabs' pikes into the ground, we found it was impregnated with salt to a considerable depth."

תמר is a name given to the city of Jericho, because the vicinity abounded in palm-trees; it was also called "the city of palm-trees," עיר התמרים (Jud. I. 16, III. 13; Deut. XXXIV. 3): in 2 Chron. XXVIII. 15, ירחו עיר התמרים. In Jud. XX. 23, the words בבעל תמר are in the Targum explained by במישרי יריחו, "in the plains of Jericho."

The name of Tadmor was given to the city by Solomon when

he built it. Solomon surrounded the city with very strong walls, and called it Thadamora, says Josephus, and so called by the Syrians in his time, but by the Greeks Palmira (Palmyra). (*Antiq.* lib. VIII. c. VI. p. 354.) Its name of Tadmor, or Thadamora, as it is in Josephus, is derived from the Syriac language, in which it signifies "admiration," "wonder," דמר admiratus est, תדמורא admiratio, תדמור by the Hebrews; being built in such a situation, and no doubt splendidly, it was an object of *admiration*, of *wonder*.

Why is it translated in the Septuagint Θέρμαι, and Θερμάθ? Can it be in reference to the hot-springs, Θέρμαι πηγαί, for which it is remarkable? But if so, we might expect the words to be, not τὴν Θέρμαι, but τὰς Θέρμας. These springs are thus described by Wood: "This might be made a very agreeable spot, by a proper distribution of two springs which are now entirely neglected by the Arabs. They are both hot, sulphureous water, which, however, the inhabitants find wholesome and not disagreeable. The most considerable rises westward of the ruins, from a beautiful grotto at the foot of the mountains, almost high enough in the middle to admit us standing upright. The whole bottom is a basin of very clear water about two feet deep. The heat thus confined makes it an excellent bath, for which purpose the Arabs use it. The stream, which runs from it in a pretty smart current, is about a foot deep, and more than three feet over, confined in some places by an old paved channel; but after a very short course it is soaked up in the sand, eastward of the ruins . . . While Palmyra flourished, this beautiful source must, no doubt, have been of great value. . . . . The other stream, whose source we could not see, contains nearly the same quantity of water, and runs through the ruins in an ancient aqueduct underground, near the long portico, and in the same direction; it joins the first, to the east of the ruins, and is lost with it in the sands. The Arabs told us there was a third stream not quite so considerable as these two, and conveyed in an aqueduct underground through the ruins, as the last, but that its passage was so broken and choked up with rubbish, that it had not appeared for some time." (*Mod. Trav. Syria*, Vol. II. p. 32, &c.)

The name of the place in the Septuagint, Θερμάθ, may, I think, be accounted for thus: the Greeks may have named the place Θέρμαι, from the hot-springs there. This word, trans-

ferred into the language of the later Jews, would be תרמי, Θέρμαι, and תרמת, Θερμάθ, from the accusative form Θέρμας, the ש, according to the Chaldaic, being changed into ת. Thus the Septuagint gave, as the name of the place, the common name which it had among the Jews at that time, and this name derived from the Greeks.

Extreme North-Eastern Bounds of the Land assigned to the Israelites.

"David smote also Hadadezer the son of Rehob king of Zobah, as he went to recover his border at the river Euphrates." (2 Sam. viii. 3; 1 Chron. xviii. 3.) "And Solomon reigned over all the kingdoms from *the river* unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt; for he had dominion over all the region on this side *the river*, from Tiphsah even to Azza, over all the kings on this side *the river*. (1 Kings, iv. 21. 24; in the Hebrew text it is, v. 1. 4.)

In the Scriptures, "the river" means the Euphrates. (Vitringa, *Comment. in Jesaiam*, c. xi. 15, p. 359.) The place named Tiphsah in the Scriptures is the Thapsacus of the Greeks and Romans; it is situated on the western bank of the Euphrates. From the earliest ages here was one of the most frequented *passages* or *fords* (תפסח) over the Euphrates, and David or Solomon took possession of it, probably with the two-fold design of rendering it a station from which they could easily restrain the hostile attempts of the princes beyond the river, and command in this quarter the commerce of the more eastern nations, a branch of which flowed in this direction towards the west. After the mention of Thapsacus in the Scriptures, the first writer who mentions it is Xenophon, who describes it as a large and opulent town. Here the Greeks, with the rest of the army under Cyrus, remained five days, and here they passed the river into Mesopotamia. (*Anab.* lib. i. c. 4, s. 11.) The river is nearly half a mile broad at this place, but the soldiers in fording it were wet no higher than the breast, which excited the astonishment of the inhabitants of Thapsacus, as the river had never before been so passed. (*Anab.* lib. i. c. 4, s. 17, 18.) A bridge had been constructed here by Darius, when he was advancing to meet Alexander before the battle of Issus. (Quint. Curt. iii. 7.) And here also Darius

passed the Euphrates in his flight after his defeat. (Arrian, II. 13.) And here, after his expedition into Egypt, Alexander came in the month of June, and found the bridge, which had been partly destroyed by the Persians on their retreat, repaired by the division of his army which he had ordered to advance to secure the passage of the river. (Arrian, III. 7.) At the time of year in which Alexander came to Thapsacus, the Euphrates is impassable by fording, as it is then flooded. When Xenophon passed in the spring, the river had not risen, and perhaps, from some circumstance peculiar to that year, the Euphrates might have sunk below the depression natural to this river in winter, spring, and autumn. At Thapsacus Alexander constructed a fleet with timber brought from Mount Lebanon, says Quintus Curtius, "Mesopotamiæ Prætoribus imperavit, materia in Libano monte cæsa, devectaque ad urbem Syriæ Thapsacum, ingentium carinas navium ponere." (Lib. x. c. 1.) But according to other writers, the component parts of Phœnician vessels were separated, and then transported to Thapsacus, where they were reconstructed. (Arrian, lib. VII. c. 19; Strabo, lib. XVI. p. 741.) With this fleet, when transported down the Euphrates into the ocean, he meditated, in his boundless ambition (animo infinita complexus), to extend his power over the maritime regions of the east. In the passage of Strabo referred to, the distance from Phœnicia to Thapsacus is given as seven stadia, whereas the distance must be at least two thousand stadia. Forster, in note 18 to his *Geographial Dissertation on the Anabasis*, proposes an emendation, and, for σταδίοις ἑπτὰ, would read σταθμοῖς ἑπτά; but this would not be equivalent to the distance; and besides, Strabo invariably computes distances by στάδια not by σταθμοί. The distance between Thapsacus and any of the seaports of Phœnicia must be nearly the same as that between Thapsacus and the seaport Myriandrus, which distance is given by Xenophon. According to Xenophon, the army under Cyrus completed the march from the coast of the Mediterranean Sea to the Euphrates at Thapsacus in twelve σταθμοὶ, or twelve days; four σταθμοὶ from Myriandrus, a town on the coast inhabited by Phœnicians: πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ (*Anab.* I. c. 4, s. 6), to the river Chalus, or river of Aleppo; from this river, five σταθμοὶ to the sources of the river Daradax, the breadth of which was, as Xenophon says, one hundred feet—οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου; from

this to Thapsacus, three σταθμοί; that is, in all, twelve σταθμοί, or twelve days' march, sixty-five parasangs, or somewhat about two hundred miles: and the distance between any of the towns on the coast of Phœnicia, from whence the materials for constructing Alexander's vessels were transported to Thapsacus, could not be less than about two hundred miles, that is, two thousand stadia, instead of seven stadia, as it is in the text of Strabo.

I fully agree with Forster, in his *Geog. Dissertation on the Anabasis*, that the army under Cyrus must have marched for some time along the river Daradax, after they came to the source of it; and this will account for Xenophon stating the breadth of it to be one hundred feet, not at the source, which would be absurd, but at some part of its course, probably where the army halted for a time, near the palace and parks of the Syrian governor. This river, naturally small, must have been enlarged, by widening the channel to admit abundantly the waters of the Euphrates in the season of its inundation, and modern travellers have found here the remains of a canal. (See Mr. Ainsworth, on the Geog. of the Anabasis, *Classical Museum*, Vol. I. p. 178.) This canal I am inclined to consider as the enlargement, formed long before the time of Xenophon, of the natural river or stream. As the army must have remained there a few days, near the palace and park of the Syrian governor, which Cyrus destroyed, Xenophon had sufficient opportunity of observing the breadth of the river, not only near its source, but much further down towards the Euphrates, and this is the breadth which he states. Mr. Ainsworth, in his observations, says, "That Xenophon describes this canal under the name of Daradax is not only evidenced by the distances given, but also by the fact that he, in another place, describes, in a similar manner, the river Masca at Corsote, which was also a derivative of exactly the same character, also by the circumstance of its being one hundred feet wide at its source." This is not correct; for Xenophon does not say any thing of *the source* of the river Masca; he mentions its breadth, one hundred feet, and describes it as encircling the city of Corsote: ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασκᾶν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιεῤῥεῖτο δὲ αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μασκᾶ κύκλῳ. (Lib. I. c. 5, s. 4.) After passing the Masca, the army of

Cyrus and the Greeks marched generally, but not always, along or near the Euphrates. That they did not always follow it closely from Thapsacus to Babylon, is evident from their not passing the Araxes near its influx into the Euphrates, as we shall subsequently see; and also from what Xenophon says of the very long marches which the army was obliged to make some days after they had passed the river Masca. Advancing from Corsote on the Masca, where they remained three days, they proceeded thirteen days through a desert country—*σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα παρασάγγας ἐνενήκοντα*, keeping the Euphrates on their right—*τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων*. It is evident, however, from what is afterwards mentioned, that this expression does not mean that they followed the course of the Euphrates closely along its banks, for we shall find, by an expression of Xenophon's, that they must have deviated, in some of their marches, very considerably from it. Some of these marches were extremely long, when they were obliged to proceed until *they came to water*: *ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὁπότε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν*. These unusually long marches, therefore, for the sake of coming to water, it is evident would not have been necessary if they had always kept close to the Euphrates.

The products of Arabia and of other eastern countries were carried, partly by land, partly up the Euphrates, to Thapsacus, and thence dispersed through the west: *τοὺς Γερραίους τὰ πολλὰ σχεδίαις εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐμπορευέσθαι, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τὰ φορτία ἀναπλεῖν εἰς Θάψακον, εἶτα πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι πάντῃ*. (Strabo, lib. XVI. p. 766.) But the possibility of this ascending navigation appears to be contradicted by Herodotus: *ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἵά τέ ἐστι πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ, ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ*. (Lib. I. c. 194.) Perhaps, however, this may refer only to boats of the light construction which he describes in the chapter.

Thapsacus and Sura cannot be identical. Amphipolis was the name by which Thapsacus was known to the Romans under the imperial government. (Pliny, lib. V. c. 24.) This name was imposed on it by Seleucus Nicator, who built many cities throughout the whole extent of his dominions, and to many of the ancient eastern cities he affixed new names, and by him it was that Thapsacus was called Amphipolis. (Appian, *De Bellis Syr.* p. 201, ed. Amstel.) As Amphipolis was, therefore, the

name by which Thapsacus was known to the Romans under the imperial government, it is not at all likely that the *Flavia firma Sura* of the *Notitia Imperii Orientalis* can be the same place. Neither is it probable that Thapsacus has ever been called Turmeda. It must have retained, among the natives, the name by which it was designated in the very earliest period in which we find any notice of it; and as Ammian. Marcellin. (Lib. XIV.), speaking of the cities founded and named by Seleucus, justly observes, although Greek names were sometimes imposed on eastern places, yet the original names affixed to them were never lost, nor the Grecian innovations adopted by the natives of the country. And it seems unlikely that the native inhabitants would themselves change the name of the place from Tiphsah or Thapsak to Turmeda.

Farther down, on the eastern side of the river, was situated Circesium, on a small peninsula formed by the junction of the Chaboras and the Euphrates: "Cercusium . . . munimentum tutissimum, et fabre politum, cujus mœnia Abora et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes." (Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 23.) This is the Carchemish of the Scriptures. (2 Chron. XXXV. 20; Isaiah X. 9; Jerem. XLVI. 2.) It was possessed and fortified, alternately by the kings of Babylon and of Egypt, to secure the passage of the Euphrates. (2 Kings XXIII. 29, XXIV. 7; 2 Chron. XXXV. 20; Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. X. c. 5 and 6.) And, from its remote situation, it acquired the name of Carchemish, כרכמיש, "*the remote fortress*," from כרך arx, and מיש remota. When the Romans extended their dominion in this direction, it was occupied by them, and its fortifications enlarged and strengthened by Diocletian, to check the incursions of the Persians. (Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 23.) It was the extreme Roman station on the Euphrates: φρούριον ἔσχατον. (Gib. IV. p. 159.) If the army under Cyrus had always, in their march, kept close to the Euphrates, they must have come to Circesium, but of this place Xenophon makes no mention. The army, then, must have passed the Araxes at some distance from its junction with the Euphrates, and they passed it without difficulty; they must have forded it. If Circesium was at that time a strongly fortified place, as perhaps it was, this may have been the reason why it was avoided by Cyrus; the river here could not have been passed without a bridge, and the army had no materials for constructing a bridge.

When the emperor Julian and his army passed this river, a bridge was necessary: "Julianus vero dum moratur apud Cercusium ut per navalem Aboræ pontem exercitus et omnes sequelæ transirent." (Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 23.) And as soon as the army had passed, Julian ordered the bridge to be destroyed, to prevent the possibility of any of the soldiers returning. This shews that the river Araxes, as Xenophon calls it, could not have been passed at or near Circesium, except by a bridge, and consequently the army of Cyrus must have passed much higher up the river, where it was fordable; Xenophon, therefore, makes no mention of Circesium, as the Greeks did not pass near it.

The extreme bounds of the Jewish dominions, from north to south, are stated by Isaiah; and by the expression משבלת הנהר (XXVII. 12), the prophet denotes that part particularly of the river Euphrates which formed the winding boundary of the utmost limits of the Jewish dominions towards the north-east. In our authorized version, the translation of the word שבלת is "channel." Castell (*Lex. Heptaglott.*) explains the word by "alveus;" Schindler (*Pentaglott.*), by "fluxus," "vis aquæ," "fortis fluminis cursus;" Vitringa refers the expression of Isaiah to that part of the river "in quo violentius fluit Euphrates," and would translate the word by "fluxus Exphratis vehementior." The word occurs in Psalm LXIX. 3, applied to the flow of waters, and Bythner, in his *Lyra Prophetica*, translates it, "fluentum," "gurges aquarum, ubi aqua impetuosiori cursu defertur;" Bishop Lowth translates it, "flood." But channel, alveus, fluxus, &c. are applicable to the river throughout its whole course, from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf. "Fluxus vehementior" more nearly points to that part of the river intended by the prophet; "flood" is applicable to the whole river, but only in a particular season of the year. The Septuagint, in their translation—ἀπὸ τῆς διώρυχος τοῦ ποταμοῦ—may have intended, not indeed to translate the word שבלת, but to point to the same, or nearly the same, part of the river; for, at some distance above Thapsacus, there is a διώρυξ, or canal, marked, in D'Anville's maps, "Semiramidis fossa." Numerous works of this kind, in different regions, are ascribed to Semiramis. (Strabo, XVI.) The ancient historians and geographers mention many of these canals connecting the Euphrates and Tigris, in the Babylonian territory,—διώρυχες ἀπὸ

τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσαι (*Anab.* I. c. 7, s. 15)—which, on account of the number of these artificial watercourses, much resembled Egypt: *ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη πᾶσα, κατάπερ ἡ Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέτμηται ἐς διώρυχας.* (Herod. I. 193; Strabo, XVI.; Arrian, VII. 7.) Before these were cut and mounds formed, the country was subject to destructive inundations. (Herod. I. 184.) "They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations; subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands and supplied the deficiency of rain." (Gib. IV. p. 167; *Anab.* II. c. 4, s. 13.) None of the interpreters or commentators has, in my opinion, observed the full meaning of the word, as applied by Isaiah in the passage referred to. The prophet designates the whole extent of the land, from its extreme north-eastern to its extreme south-western limits, by the expressions which he uses; and, instead of the plain words used by all the other scripture writers when so marking the extent of the land, such as מנהר מצרים עד הנהר הגדל נהר פרת (Gen. xv. 18; Josh. I. 4); or without any epithet, but by the addition of the proper name of the river, as מן הנהר נחר פרת (Deut. XI. 24); or simply מן הנהר (1 Kings v. 1. 4. &c.), instead of these plain expressions, he selects a poetically descriptive word, peculiarly designating that part of the river Euphrates where was the extreme north-eastern limit of the Jewish dominions—משבלת הנהר עד נחל מצרים, which, in the full meaning of the expression, may be translated, "from the deep-flowing windings of the river to the stream of Egypt." All along this part of its course the Euphrates is deepest, and is remarkable for its numerous windings: *ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ῥυεὶς εἶτ' ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς ἕω, καὶ πάλιν πρὸς νότον.* (Strabo, II.) And Ammianus Marcellinus, who served in the army of the emperor Julian, when marching against the Persians, describes this part of the river from his own observation: "Classis autem (the fleet of Julian, 'which densely crowded the broad Euphrates,' quæ latissimum flumen Euphratem arctabat, consisting of eleven hundred vessels), per flumen ferebatur *assiduis flexibus tortuosum.*" (Lib. 23 and 24.) Other writers also speak of it as being deepest as it flows along Syria: *μέγιστος ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν τόποις.* (Polyb. lib. IX. c. 43.) The Euphrates is largest and fullest in the summer: *οὗτος δὲ καὶ πλεῖστος γίγνεται τῷ ῥεύματι κατὰ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν.* (Polyb. IX.

c. 43.) This is easily accounted for, from the nature and circumstances of the region in which it has its source. (See Mr. Ainsworth's observations on the geography of the *Anabasis*, in the *Classical Museum*, Vol. I. p. 314, in which is given the elevation (from 4,200 to 5,500 feet) of that part of Armenia in which the Euphrates has its source. It rises on the northern side of the Armenian mountains, which are covered with deep snow, on which the heat of the sun does not operate till the end of spring. (Strabo, XI.) The Tigris has its source in the southern side of the same mountains, and consequently, the snow being melted earlier, it overflows in the beginning of the spring. (Strabo, XI.) But the Euphrates does not overflow its banks till the month of July. (Strabo, XVI.; Plin. V. 26; Arrian, VII. 21.) How interesting is Xenophon's description of the sufferings of the Greeks during their march through the deep snows of the mountains and elevated plains of Armenia, from whence the Euphrates flows! (*Anab.* IV. c. 4. 8, &c.)

Josephus derives the name of the Euphrates פרת, from פרד, dispersit, or from פרה, florere fecit: *καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φορὰθ, σημαίνει δὲ ἤτοι σκεδασμὸν, ἢ ἄνθος* (*Antiq.* I. 1); but more correctly it may be derived from פרה, crevit, auctus fuit, fœcundavit, from its periodical increase, or from its fertilizing, as the Nile, the ground which it overflows:

——— sparsus in agros
Fertilis Euphrates Phariæ vice fungitur undæ.
Lucan, III. 260.

With respect to the northern bounds of the land assigned to the Israelites, I shall endeavour to defend the integrity of the Hebrew text against the objections of Eichhorn. I have already shewn[4] the erroneousness of the opinions which he has propounded, in his Introduction to the Old Testament, respecting the conquest of the Moabites and the character of Balaam. It is Eichhorn's opinion that those passages in the Pentateuch which state the bounds of the land towards the north to be the Euphrates, are interpolations inserted in David's time or after.

In Gen. X. 15, &c. the tribes of the Canaanites mentioned are—Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites,

[4] In the Appendix to *Some Critical Observations on the Book of Job*; published by J. W. Parker.

Sinites, Arvadites, Semarites, Hamathites, both in the Hebrew and Samaritan texts. If in this passage the Hebrew text be correct, then the bounds of the land, as laid down in the 19th verse of the Hebrew, cannot be correct, for there are tribes mentioned which dwelt beyond these bounds. In the Samaritan text, verse 19, the extent is from the river of Egypt to the great river—the river Euphrates; and this extent is necessary to comprise all the tribes mentioned in both texts; but the bounds stated in the Hebrew text did not comprise all the tribes mentioned, not the Arkites, nor Semarites, nor Hamathites. In Gen. xv. 19, the tribes mentioned are Kenites, Kenezites, Cadmonites, Hittites, Perizites, Rephaims, Amorites, Canaanites, Gergashites, Jebusites, in the Hebrew text. Besides these, the Samaritan text has Hivites, and so has the Septuagint. In Exodus, III. 8, the tribes are Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizites, Hivites, and Jebusites, in the Hebrew text; in the Samaritan and Septuagint, Girgashites are also mentioned; and in verse 17, Samaritan and Septuagint have Gergashites again. In Exodus, XIII. 5, Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Hivites, Jebusites, in the Hebrew; in the Samaritan text, the tribes are, Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizites, Gergashites, Hivites, Jebusites; in the Septuagint the same tribes are enumerated, but not in the same order. In Exodus XXIII. 31, the extent is from the Red Sea to the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert to the river (the Euphrates). In the Samaritan and Septuagint it is the same. Numbers XXXIV. 3. 8, shews that the extent was towards the Euphrates. The 8th and 9th verses of Deuteronomy XIX. prove that the limits were not confined to what Eichhorn asserts, but might extend to the Euphrates. The passages in which mention is made of an enlargement of their borders, shew that the extent was not to be limited by the conquests of Joshua, and that the passages in which the Euphrates is made the boundary are not interpolations. "When the Lord thy God shall enlarge thy border as he hath promised thee." (Deut. XII. 20.) It is worthy of observation, that this reference to the enlargement of their borders should be in a chapter that several times mentions a circumstance—the selection by God of a particular place, Jerusalem, in which he was to be worshipped—which took place at the very period when, by the conquests of David, their border was enlarged, and extended to the Euphrates. And when their border was to be

enlarged, in addition to the three cities of refuge in the land of Canaan, they were to appoint three more. "And if the Lord thy God enlarge thy coast, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee all the land which he promised to give unto thy fathers; if thou shalt keep all these commandments to do them, which I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, and to walk in his ways; then shalt thou add three cities more for thee besides these three." (Deut. xix. 8, 9.) This enlargement took place in David's time, and he or Solomon occupied Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, as the extreme point of their dominion in that direction. There is no mention of any additional cities of refuge having been appointed; the reason may be that these enlargements of their territory were not peopled or colonized fully by the Jews, but the inhabitants rendered tributary.

"Moses," observes Eichhorn, "adhered, to the last year of his life, to the plan by which the Jordan was to be fixed as the eastern boundary of the tribes of Israel; and it was after some *reluctance* that he permitted some of the tribes to settle in the country to the east of that river. How could he, then, in the first year after his departure from Egypt, in his fundamental laws, extend the boundaries of the Israelites as far as to the Euphrates?" (2 B. Mose, xxiii. 31.) "So that these bounds could have been fixed only after David's time, who, by successfully conducted wars, had united to his kingdom all the countries as far as the Euphrates." (Vol. iii. p. 259.)

But although the Jordan was to be the eastern boundary of the land, yet this does not prove that the northern boundary might not extend to the Euphrates. No part of the land of Canaan was on the eastern side of the Jordan, and, properly speaking, the land to the west of that river, northward and southward, alone was the land of promise. "When ye be come over Jordan into the land of Canaan" (Num. xxxii. and xxxv. 10); and, in verse 14, "Ye shall give three cities on this side Jordan, and three cities shall ye give in the land of Canaan, which shall be cities of refuge." Philo Judæus, speaking of the cities of refuge, says, *τρεῖς μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, αἱ δ' ἕτεραι ἐν τῇ Χαναναίων γῇ.* (*De Profugis.* Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 15; xv. 18; xvii. 8.) The tribes of the Canaanites, as the Semarites and Hamathites, extended northwards towards the Euphrates, and all their territory was assigned to the Is-

raelites. (See Bochart, *Geog. Sacr. Phalag.* lib. IV. c. 36 and 38.)

Moses, indeed, did not know that the land east of the Jordan was to be allotted to the Israelites, until he was about to commence the conquest of that region. "And the Lord said unto me, Behold, I have *begun* to give Sihon and his land before thee; *begin to possess*, that thou mayest inherit his land." (Deut. II. 31; Num. XXI. 33, 34.) There is peculiar strength and import in the expressions, "*I have begun to give*," החלתי תת; and, "begin to possess, that thou mayest inherit," החל רש לרשת. Eichhorn incorrectly says, it was after some reluctance that Moses permitted the two tribes and half-tribe to settle in the country east of the Jordan. (Vol. III. p. 258.) But the correct statement is, that the tribes, Gad and Reuben, requested Moses to give them their inheritance east of the Jordan, and not bring them over Jordan at all. Moses was displeased at their proposition; not displeased that they wished to obtain their inheritance there, but that they should entertain the thought of abandoning the prosecution of the war and the conquest of Canaan, in conjunction with their brethren; he suspecting, as Josephus expresses it, that they feared to encounter the Canaanites in battle—ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτοὺς δείσαντας τὴν πρὸς Χαναναίους μάχην (*Antiq.* IV. p. 157, ed. Huds.); but on their promising to assist their brethren in the conquest of their inheritance in Canaan, saying, "We will build sheepfolds for our cattle and cities for our little ones, but we ourselves will go ready armed before the children of Israel, until we have brought them into their place; and our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities, because of the inhabitants of the land; we will not return unto our houses, until the children of Israel have inherited every man his inheritance" (Num. XXXII. 16. 18; Deut. III. 18, &c.): then Moses consented to give them their inheritance in the land east of the Jordan.

When Moses is ordering the Israelites to appoint three cities of refuge in the *land of Canaan*, he adds: "And if the Lord thy God enlarge thy coast, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee *all the land* which he promised to give unto thy fathers, . . . then shalt thou add three cities more for thee." (Deut. XIX. 1, 2, 3, & 8.) This clearly indicates that the land promised extended beyond the limits of the territory to be acquired by the first early conquests under Joshua, and that *all*

the land promised by God was destined to be gained by future conquests. Some of the tribes of the Canaanites, mentioned in both the Hebrew and Samaritan texts (Gen. x. 15, &c.), inhabited, as has been already remarked, the region north-east of Lebanon, between that chain of mountains and the Euphrates, as the Semarites and the Hemathites; the former possessed the famous city of Emesa, the other Hemath or Epiphania; and it is highly probable that they possessed the region as far as Thapsacus, the utmost boundary of the territory of the Israelites on the north-east. (Bochart, *Geog. Sacr. Phalag.* lib. 4, c. 36 and 38.)

Thus, on examination, we find that the passages in the Pentateuch, in which the territory assigned to the Israelites is said to extend north-eastward as far as the Euphrates, are not, as Eichhorn supposes, interpolations. I strongly doubt whether any interpolations, strictly speaking, can be proved to exist in the Hebrew text. I do not denominate the transference of marginal glosses interpolations. These were not designedly and fraudulently inserted into the text, but they imperceptibly, in the lapse of time, during the numerous transcriptions of the sacred text which must have been made in a long series of years, insinuated themselves into the text from the margin, where they were originally designed only to illustrate or explain. But a pretended declaration of Jehovah would never be set down in the margin. An interpolation strictly means a designedly deceptive, impositional insertion of a word or passage not belonging to the original, and I strongly doubt the existence of any such interpolation in the Jewish scriptures. The passages of which we are speaking, and which Eichhorn assigns to the class of interpolations, are recorded as declarations or promises of Jehovah; the Jews would not have interpolated passages of this nature; but matters not claiming to be declarations of Jehovah, may, during the many transcriptions of the text, have been written in the margin, such as illustrations or explanations, ethnographical, geographical, or historical, and these, by subsequent transcribers, transferred into the text. Moreover, as the Jewish constitution was strictly theocratic, it seems to me that no great national event, whether political or religious, would occur without being previously declared by Jehovah, or predicted by his ministers, the prophets. This great national event, the extension of the Jewish dominion to

the Euphrates, must have been previously declared; and it is declared, by such bounds being assigned, in many passages of the Pentateuch, as coming from Jehovah himself. We find a strong collateral passage in Deut. xix. 1, 2, 3, and 8. When Moses is ordering the Israelites to appoint three cities of refuge in *the land of Canaan*, he adds, "And if the Lord thy God enlarge thy coast, as he hath sworn unto thy fathers, and give thee *all the land* which he promised to give unto thy fathers, . . . then shalt thou add three cities more for thee." This clearly indicates that the land promised extended beyond the limits of the territory to be acquired by the first early conquests under Joshua, and that all the land promised by God was destined to be gained by future conquests. Joshua appointed three cities of refuge; three additional cities were to be appointed whenever they should acquire *all* the land promised to their fathers. This refers to the land of Canaan, and the only region of Canaan remaining in which, from the extent of it, more cities of refuge would, according to this peculiarity in the Jewish constitution, have been required, was northwards to the Euphrates. This view of the matter is supported, too, by passages in subsequent writers. I shall cite only one, Joshua xiii. 5, where Hamath is mentioned among the places yet remaining to be conquered. The territory of the Hemathites extended towards the Euphrates.

The expression, too, in 2 Sam. viii. 3, and in 1 Chron. xviii. 3, is quite accordant with the opinion of the genuineness of the passages in the Pentateuch respecting the extent of the land northwards to the Euphrates. In 2 Sam. the words are להשיב ידו בנהר, which, in our authorized version, is translated, "to recover his border at the river Euphrates;" the word *Euphrates* is not in the Hebrew text, but is understood, and is supplied by the Masoretic reading in the margin: it is, however, in the parallel passage, 1 Chron. The passage in Chron., להציב ידו בנהר פרת, is, in our version, translated, "to stablish his dominion by the river Euphrates." The word ידו may be translated either "border" or "dominion;" the most usual word to denote border or boundary is גבול; taken in the sense of "his border," in which sense it is understood by the Targumist, as it is explained by the word תחום, "border," ידו would then clearly denote that such was the boundary assigned originally to the Israelites. But adopting the other sense of it, "his domi-

nion," the expression, I think, will, on examination, be found to denote the same thing just as clearly. The Septuagint version is, ἐπιστῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, "to stablish his dominion." The words in Sam., להשיב ידו, and the equivalent expression in Chron., להגיב ידו, do not signify "to extend his dominion," or "his border," as the expression would be if the region did not properly, or by assignment, belong to the Israelites, as part of the inheritance promised. If it had been intended to denote that David went "to extend his dominion or his border," the expression would have been להרחיב ידו or גבולו; but the words signify, "to stablish his power or dominion," thus indicating that the region properly belonged to the Jews, as part of their promised territory, and David went to stablish his authority over it.

Passages such as Deut. II. 10. 12, and 20. 23, III. 9, are ethnographical and geographical explanations, and being originally marginal, were, in the lapse of time, inserted in the text. It is most likely that the greater part of, or all such marginal observations in the Pentateuch, originated in the schools of the prophets, which were both a literary and religious institution. In these, the time of the students was devoted to the cultivation of music, poetry, the study of the Mosaic writings, and such other acquirements as would fit them for being correct expositors of the Mosaic law; by them it was, as is most likely, that these several brief observations, historical, ethnographical, and geographical, were written on the margin of the copies used by them in their studies, and, by reason of multiplied transcripts, were gradually transferred into the text.

But to return to the point of discussion, whether the passages assigning the Euphrates as the north-eastern boundary of the land are, according to Eichhorn, interpolations, or genuine portions of the Mosaic text. The argument of Eichhorn against their genuineness is merely a conjecture, a fancied discrepancy, resting on the erroneous opinion, that because the river Jordan was at first assigned as the eastern boundary along the region where it runs, therefore the Euphrates could not be the boundary in the remote north-eastern parts. The arguments in favour of the passages being genuine are:—Firstly, they are given as declarations or promises of Jehovah, and therefore not likely to be marginal glosses. Secondly, they are confirmed by collateral passages of the same import.

Thirdly, they accord with the promise given to the Israelites of an enlargement of their territory. Fourthly, they accord with the extent of the territory inhabited by the Canaanites, the whole of whose territory was, by divine appointment, assigned to the Israelites, and the territory of the Canaanites extended northwards to the Euphrates, as, for example, that of the Hamathites, whose chief town, Hamath, was, by the Greeks, afterwards named Epiphania.

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XI.

PROFESSOR VOEMEL'S "DEFENCE OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE DOCUMENTS IN DEMOSTHENES'S SPEECH ON THE CROWN, AGAINST PROFESSOR DROYSEN."[1]

THE fourth and last part of this Defence is at length arrived, and may demand some notice here, in pursuance of the discussion on the same subject, inserted in the second Number of the *Classical Museum*.

To mediate between scholars so full of erudition as the two professors here engaged, would be an arduous, and perhaps an unprofitable task; for if the umpire were competent to survey the strife from a position higher than that of the combatants, even so he might find it impossible to guarantee to his readers the value of his own decision. No attempt will here be made to cope with Professor Voemel on the field of *learning*, properly so called. Nevertheless, it is possible, on other grounds, to form a legitimate opinion concerning the success of Professor Voemel's attempt, and I intend here to assign reasons which seem to me to deprive his arguments of practical validity.

In strictness, perhaps, he might be said rather to have attacked Droysen than to have defended the documents. He taxes him, more than once, with a wilful desire to set aside their authenticity; while it is hard to deny that there is in Voemel at least an equal unwillingness to admit that Droysen's objections can ever be valid. As one illustration, I adduce the following (II. p. 9):—

"Although I believe that I have here set aside every objection alleged by Droysen against this decree, yet I do not think its general tone to be that of Demosthenes; and if any one regards as spurious this one document, which is the last of those in the oration for the Crown, I have nothing to say against it."

[1] Professor Voemel's *Die Echtheit der Urkunden in des Demosthenes Rede vom Kranze vertheidigt gegen den Herrn Prof. Droysen*, was published in four separate programs, Frankfort, 1841-4, 4to.

In his final summing up (IV. p. 13), he distinctly admits that this decree is "perhaps fabricated" (*vielleicht fingirt*), yet with no more definite reason assigned than before. If Droysen had rejected the decree on the bare ground that the tone was not that of Demosthenes, Voemel might have replied, as elsewhere, "To this subjective judgment of improbability, I oppose my subjective judgment of probability." One might have expected, or even required, that when he agreed with Droysen in the conclusion that the decree was spurious, he would either have observed a respectful silence concerning Droysen's arguments, or have at least shewn more diffidence in rejecting them.

No one, on reading the title which Voemel has prefixed to his treatise, will easily guess what is the position for which he is actually contending. By the *genuineness* of the documents, all that he means is, that they are not fabricated wantonly, but are real transcripts (more or less corrupted) of what was once in the Athenian archives, *though perhaps having nothing at all to do with the matter for which they are adduced in the speech.* But on this important point the reader must hear his very words:—

I. p. 7. "It must here be repeated, that these documents are not those which Demosthenes himself gave [to the notary] to be read aloud; but that, as Boeckh has made very probable, they have been introduced—in part at wrong places — out of a collection of decrees and protocols, which was taken from the archives. This I here once more mention, because Droysen in many places, and especially upon this accusatory speech by Æschines, goes on the supposition that the present opinion is, that Demosthenes himself had searched out the documents, and had set them forth to the reader in the protocol-form in which we find them."

I. p. 10. "Concerning both of the decrees which now lie before us [§ 164], I believe that they, as well as that which is set in § 29, have been introduced at a wrong place, all three decrees extant relating to Athenian embassies to Philip. That of § 29 belongs, as Boeckh saw, to Olymp. 110, 2, when Philip, in difficulties before Byzantium, entered into treaty for peace, although the peace did not come to pass. The two others, however, as I suppose, refer to earlier affairs, perhaps when Philip made attempts upon Megara."

It is, then, admitted by Voemel that the documents were introduced by some unknown person, who has certainly done his work very clumsily, and has probably fabricated at least

one decree; and yet he will not allow that this throws the least discredit on them as a whole! This may be seen in the following comments on Droysen (IV. p. 13):—

"'Nothing essential,' says Droysen, 'appears to apply against *this* decree, but the other documents must at least stir up suspicion.' What! also against *this*? Again: 'The suspicious character of the rest thereby so mounts up,' (*thereby*, *i.e.* that Droysen thinks he has pointed out the spuriousness of the majority), 'that we hold as decided the spuriousness of all the documents presented in this speech.' *But why, then, does not a similar sentence fall on* ALL *the documents found in authors?* [über alle bei den Schriftstellern vorkommende Urkunden]."

The last words, here denoted by italics, will be read by most persons, it is believed, with extreme surprise. It might seem too obvious to need insisting on, that until the opposite is proved, we must rest in the supposition that the documents of this speech come from one and the same hand, and have been liable to the same influences. So far as those influences reach, suspicion will extend, and no further. Voemel, however, assumes that, after all his admissions, the credit of the documents is so unimpaired, that hypothetical solutions of difficulties on his part suffice. When a gross contradiction is met, he insists that this goes to prove the simple-heartedness of the compiler, and rather accredits the documents (I. p. 10). On the contrary, it seems more reasonable to impute stupidity, especially if it be allowed that one document is convicted of forgery principally by its vapid nonsense; but that alternative does not seem to have occurred to Professor Voemel, though elsewhere he confesses that there has been great carelessness.

It is a peculiarly perverse *kind* of carelessness which he ascribes to the compiler, in so many places to have turned notaries into archons. Such a corruption would indeed have been malicious, if this man had foreseen how much trouble it would cause to commentators in these days. But, once more, the reader must listen to Voemel's own account of this unfortunate jumble:—

III. p. 4. "No one any longer regards as archons these names which were a great while entitled pseudeponymi, but, with Boeckh, as notaries of the Prytaneum; and these were sometimes found with their fathers' name annexed."

I. p. 4. "To Mr. Droysen, Boeckh's hypothesis 'appears, how-

ever subtly conceived and laboured out, yet to oppose all probability.'

* * * But why should not the collector of the decrees have set the superscription of the archon's name *once only* to the chapter which contained the documents of one year, without repeating it before each separate document; while he furnished these barely with the name of the notary of the Prytaneum, also without once repeating ἐγραμμάτευε or γραμμάτεως? Out of such a collection, not directly out of the archives, the missing documents in the speeches of Demosthenes were completed."

It may be hard to express an opinion of this argument, without seeming to despise the reasoning powers, not only of Professor Voemel, but also of Boeckh. Great men have their paradoxes, and as such perhaps we may regard this. A set of documents are found to have false names of archons. Boeckh acknowledges the blunder, but kindly volunteers to re-write the documents, as they certainly (or at least probably) were in the Athenian archives. We have but to change ἄρχοντος a dozen times over into γραμματεύοντος, and all will be right! Many things are possible, and, it must freely be admitted, so is Boeckh's hypothesis; but it remains, that its falsehood is at least as possible as its truth. It is one out of a hundred or a thousand conceivable contingencies; and we submit, that the entire burden of proof rests with him who espouses its defence. Voemel has convinced himself, on the contrary, that a man is unreasonable who does not adopt the possibility as a fact. For myself, I would by no means assert that every one of these documents is a pure scholastic fabrication; but, from the moment we are convinced that several of them have no place in Demosthenes's speech, and have false names and dates, the external authority of all is shaken. It is then necessary to begin the whole question anew, just as if now, for the first time, some scholar found them in manuscript, in the drawer of an old monastery, disconnected from the speeches of Demosthenes. If any of them bear severe examination, let them have the credit of it; yet, even so, should any of their companions be convicted of forgery, a deep suspicion will inevitably rest on all, and none can be quoted as an authority in proof of any doubtful point. On the other hand, to tamper with the text in order to save their credit, is contrary to every just principle of reasoning.

This, nevertheless, is what Voemel feels that he has a right

to do, not only in serious questions, as in this about the archons, but even in cases so gratuitous as to make the controversy one, not of erudition, but concerning the first principles of evidence. Thus, in the decree which he himself feels to be spurious, he is actually at the pains to suppose that five names of ambassadors have dropped out of the text (II. p. 9), in order to rebut Droysen's objection, that whereas Demosthenes had said there were ten ambassadors, the decree gives but five. This is a fair specimen of *medicinam mortuo.*

A striking example of Voemel's mode of defence is found in reference to Cottyphus the Pharsalian, who is wrongly called "Cottyphus the Arcadian," in one of these confessedly garbled pieces. To sustain the anonymous authority, Voemel unhesitatingly adopts Winiewsky's conjecture, that Φαρσάλιον, *in the speech of Æschines,* is to be altered to Παῤῥάσιον (what more could he do, if these documents were indisputably genuine and authoritative?); and then he argues, that the Parrhasians were not only Arcadians, but also Argives; and, in the latter character, might possibly have been admitted into the Amphictyonic council.

Nor, indeed, is it possible, from Professor Voemel's treatise, to gain any clear idea how far he has fulfilled the limited object of refuting Professor Droysen. The latter had adopted an arrangement which, he said, "was most convenient for the examination;" words which Voemel sarcastically interprets, "convenient for proving the spuriousness of the records." From words of Droysen, quoted incidentally (IV. p. 13), it clearly appears that he does not lay equal stress on all his arguments, and that he thinks many of them to be valid in combination which are not decisive singly. Now, by dissolving this combination, and answering them one by one, Voemel has made it difficult or impossible to know what is the real value of his reply. Indeed the fallacy appears to me to pervade his whole dissertation, of supposing that it suffices to deal separately with every unusual phrase. It very often happens that words and phrases *exist* in a language long before they become the standard mode of speech. They are avoided by the earlier writers as vulgar—or as poetical—or as technical slang; or for some other reason, they are unusual, and do not readily offer themselves to the mind; yet perhaps they are to be found by searching. The later style, then, is distinguished from the

older by the *greater abundance* of such phrases; and it may be a valid proof of the recency of a document, that in ten lines it has five modern phrases. In such a case, it is a most insufficient reply to adduce, by laborious searching of indices, similar expressions out of old writers. The question is one of degree, and that is wholly evaded by Voemel's method of reply. When to this we add, that in extreme cases he cuts the knot either by altering the text arbitrarily (as, for ἐνδεχομένως, I. p. 14, he conjectures, ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων), or by ruling, we cannot tell why, that the objection goes for nothing (as when he confesses (IV. p. 12) that μεμψιμοιρεῖν is not current earlier than Polybius), it appears that Droysen had no chance of proving any thing, even had the case been stronger in his favour. Nevertheless, having said thus much, I will not shrink from adding, if it concern any one to know, that Droysen appears to me to have grasped at too much, and weakened his cause by overstating his objections. But I am aware how easily, under the circumstances, I may misconceive the relative stress which he intended to be laid on his arguments.

But we have not yet got to the end of the arbitrary inventions required by Boeckh's and Voemel's hypothesis. "Five documents," according to the latter, "are attached to a wrong place, four are full of gaps, one perhaps imperfect, and one forged." Such is his final summary. But, as he states five to be out of place, it is his business to assign their right place. Accordingly, he ascribes those which bear the name of Mnesiphilus to Olymp. 110, 2, and 109, 2; *i. e.* to the years B.C. 338 and 342. Yet even on this he has not made up his mind, for he adds (III. p. 9): "*Or else*, both belonged to the same year, Olymp. 110, 2; then this is one more example that one man might be several times in the year notary of the Prytaneum." (If I rightly understand, this means that the notary did not change *every month*.) It is surprising that Professor Voemel should be so confident that the document is not forged, when he is doubtful what is its real date. He may seem to forget that as, by his own shewing, it has not a particle of external support, it can only stand by strong internal proofs of congruity. To doubt about the date, is to doubt whether it is a mere fabrication or not. But let this pass, for more is to come. We know from Demosthenes the extreme anxiety he felt in the year B.C. 346, concerning *the oaths of peace*, which

Philip had not yet taken, and how he despatched an embassy to get them. Now, in order to sustain the credit of the document (p. 235, Reiske), ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, we are required by Boeckh and Voemel to believe that the same thing happened a second time in B.C. 338, or else in B.C. 342—in which year is uncertain; but that it was in one or other, they request that we will not doubt. We will here transcribe the pith of the decree:—

"Demosthenes, &c. spoke. Since Philip, having sent ambassadors about peace, has made with the Athenian people a treaty which has been approved, it is decreed, in order that the peace may be accomplished which was voted in the first assembly, to choose instantly five ambassadors; and that those who are elected should *go abroad without any delay, wherever they may hear Philip to be*, &c. &c."

It will be observed, that all the circumstances are precisely the same as in the year B.C. 346, except that five ambassadors are found for ten, and that "the *first* assembly" should be (apparently) "the *former* assembly." Such a recurrence of events would be like a dream. The same trick played by Philip a second time would inevitably have been commented on by Demosthenes. Voemel, however, is so unmerciful towards incredulous minds, as to lay on us the new burden of believing that the events of the second decree, ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου *also* came twice over. The circumstances of this were likewise peculiar, and are known also from the oration περὶ Παραπρεσβείας (p. 368, Reiske.) Callisthenes passed the decree to bring the whole country population into the city, on the sudden panic which seized the Athenians when Philip began to raze the Phocian cities to the ground. It would be strange if, in the year B.C. 342, Callisthenes had proposed a similar decree in a similar panic. Such a thing is possible, no doubt. If we had valid testimony to the fact, we might suppose Callisthenes to be an alarmist, ready to take the lead on such occasions. But more words are not wanting, to insist on the inadmissibility of these coincidences on mere arbitrary conjecture; and if even *one* duplicate event is improbable, the combination of the *two* duplicates cannot be received by any cool and impartial mind. To admit, with Voemel and Boeckh, that these documents, headed with the name Mnesiphilus, do not belong to the events of the speech to which they are annexed, is virtually to admit

that they *were forgeries*. Nor do we here need to go back the topic, that they are over and above burdened with the fa archon's name.

In a like spirit Voemel confesses that the decrees which b the name of Heropythes (p. 283, Reiske), and another to whi he refers as in § 29,—which I cannot be sure of, by reason the different divisions of different editions,—are interpolated wrong places (I. p. 10). That of § 29 he places, with Boecl in Olymp. 110, 2 (or B.C. 338); but the two others somewl earlier, "perhaps when Philip was making attempts on M gara." What has been already said will again, in part, app Not that the facts alluded to in the decrees ἐπὶ Ἡροπύθ occurred at the time to which they are referred in the spee but this does not relieve the difficulties. Philip is in them s to have taken certain cities ἀστυγείτονας to Athens, to h plundered others, and to be preparing to invade Attica. imagine that Philip did all this before the war of Byzantiu and before he was called in against the Amphissians and sei Elatea, appears to me in flat contradiction to the notori facts of the history. In the earlier period, he intrigued a did many things by his partisans, but he did not head a gr army in his own name on the confines of Attica. In the Pl cian war he was ostensibly acting for the confederates and the sacred cause of the temple; and we have every reason feel assured that that was the only occasion, previous to seizure of Elatea, on which he came with an army south Thermopylæ. Besides, the second decree complains, that P lip is intending to alienate the Thebans from Athens; whil there is a word of truth in Demosthenes's statements, the At nians and Thebans were in mutual enmity all along, down the time when, after Philip had seized Elatea, Demosthe performed the eminent service of reconciling the two cit Without pursuing the subject any farther, enough has been to shew the difficulties in which the hypothesis of Boeckh, wl Voemel has so learnedly and zealously defended, is involve

I turn to a more grateful subject, that of using the learn of Professor Voemel to assist in replying to various questi which were proposed in the former article on these docume It may be most convenient to the reader to be referred to pages of the *Classical Museum*, Vol. I.

P. 152, Κύπριος is corrected to Κόπριος by Boeckh, whc

seems in his *Seewesen*, p. 384) has established that there was a δῆμος called Κόπρος. No doubt, then, Κόπριος is the word which the first writer of the document intended.

In proof that the celebrated Eubulus was an *Anaphlystian*, Droysen refers to Plut. *Polit. Præc.* cap. 15. Whether this proves any thing is uncertain; for Voemel regards it as clear that Plutarch quotes our documents as genuine; and if so, he may be indebted to this spurious source for his information.

In p. 155 a difficulty is started, concerning *the five hundred drachmas*. Voemel's explanation is, that the people might at discretion lower the penalty of one thousand to five hundred. In proof that five hundred was a common fine to impose, he refers to Demosth. *contra Euerg. et Mnes.* § 43 (p. 1152, 10), which certainly states that five hundred drachmas was the highest fine which the senate could impose at will on a man who had struck a public officer; also to Isocrat. *contra Lochit.* § 3 (p. 398), which says, that a man who used against another scandalous terms of reviling (τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων) was liable to a fine of five hundred drachmas. These instances justify, in Voemel's opinion, the article τὰς πεντακοσίας, although the case before us, of Patrocles, was quite different from these.

On the question in p. 163 (C.M.), concerning Charidemus, who was ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, and was concerned in the ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχη, Professor Voemel offers the following explanation (III. p. 18): "Charidemus, the Athenian, *from the Attic Salamis, whither he was ordered*, in conjunction with Diotimus, after the battle *on the Cephisus* against Philip (therefore Olymp. 110, 3), armed, from his private means, eight hundred men. It does not appear that any well-founded objection can be made against the possibility of this supposition." The reader must judge whether the Greek can bear this meaning.

In p. 166 it has been inquired, how old are the titles and the distribution of functions at Athens; ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων. In Voemel (III. p. 11) it is stated, that such phrases are found in the time of the Cæsars, and, to judge by Athenæus (*Deipn.* lib. v. p. 213, E), in that of Mithridates. Rather more to the purpose, in regard to chronology at least, is his reference to Dinarchus *contra Philoclem* (in initio), στρατηγὸς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ τὰ νεώρια κεχειροτονημένος.

In I. p. 12, he adduces, with another object, an inscription, ἐπὶ Διοτίμου ἄρχοντος, which has the expression ἕκτῃ μετ' εἰκάδας, instead of πέμπτῃ ἀπίοντος. The difference of εἰκάδας and εἰκάδα perhaps is not to be pressed. If this Diotimus is the archon of B.C. 354, the antiquity of the expression is established. Voemel's reference is to *Hall. Archæol. Blätt.* 1836, No. 43. He adds, that Meier, the editor, refers the inscription to the year B.C. 286 or 285, which certainly might affect its value for our present purpose.

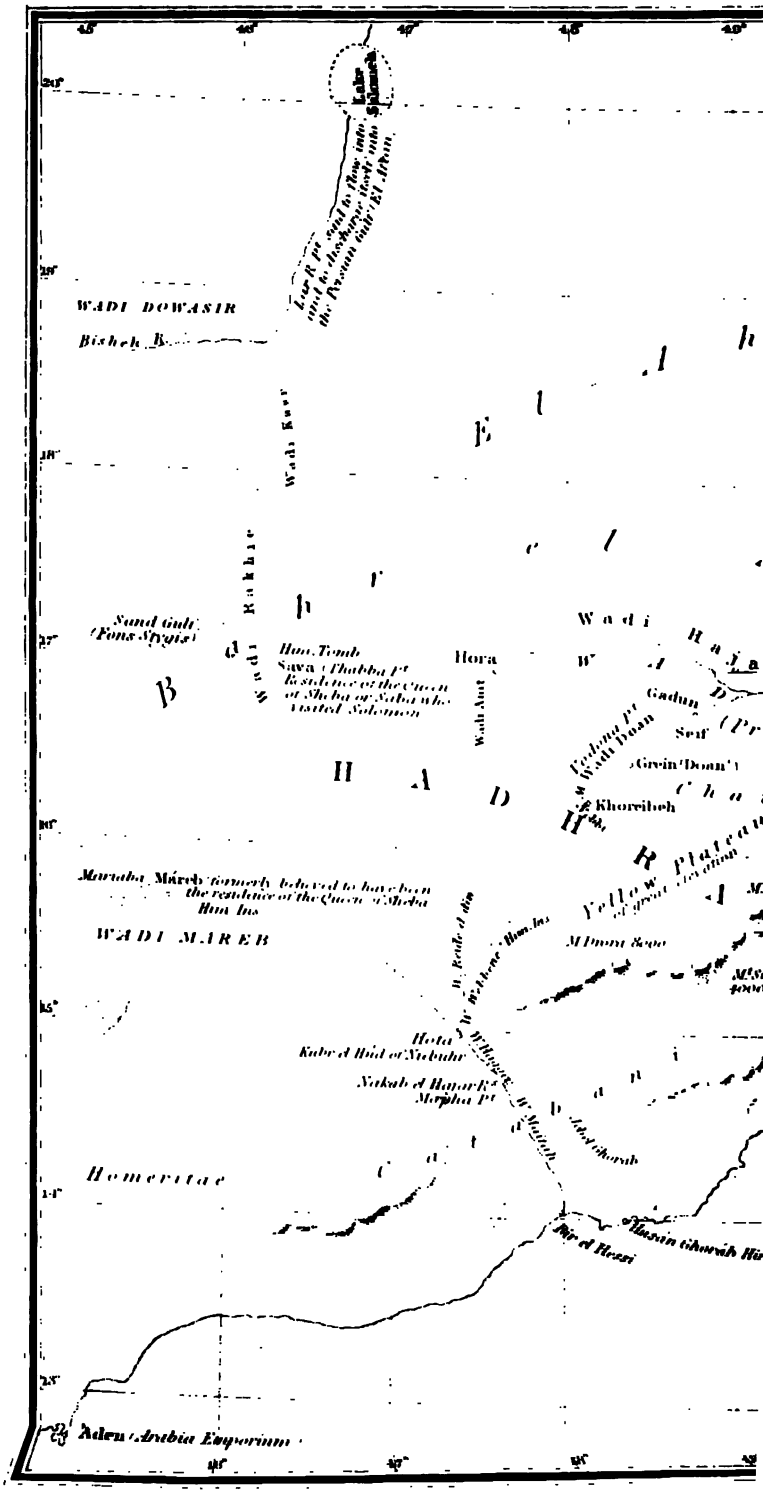
In p. 168, the phrases ἐνθυμηθῆναι διότι and ἀντιβαίνειν are remarked on. I have since observed διότι for ὅτι in Aristot. *Nic. Eth.* VI. 9. 5; and in I. 13. 16, he says, ἐναντιούμενον τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀντιβαῖνον, without, it seems, intending to be poetical. Voemel quotes διότι for ὅτι, from *Crito Comicus*, apud Athen. IV. p. 173, C.

The plural πρεσβευταὶ has crossed my path in Demosth. *in Timocr.* 703, § ε. It is not in the index, and I cannot find it again.

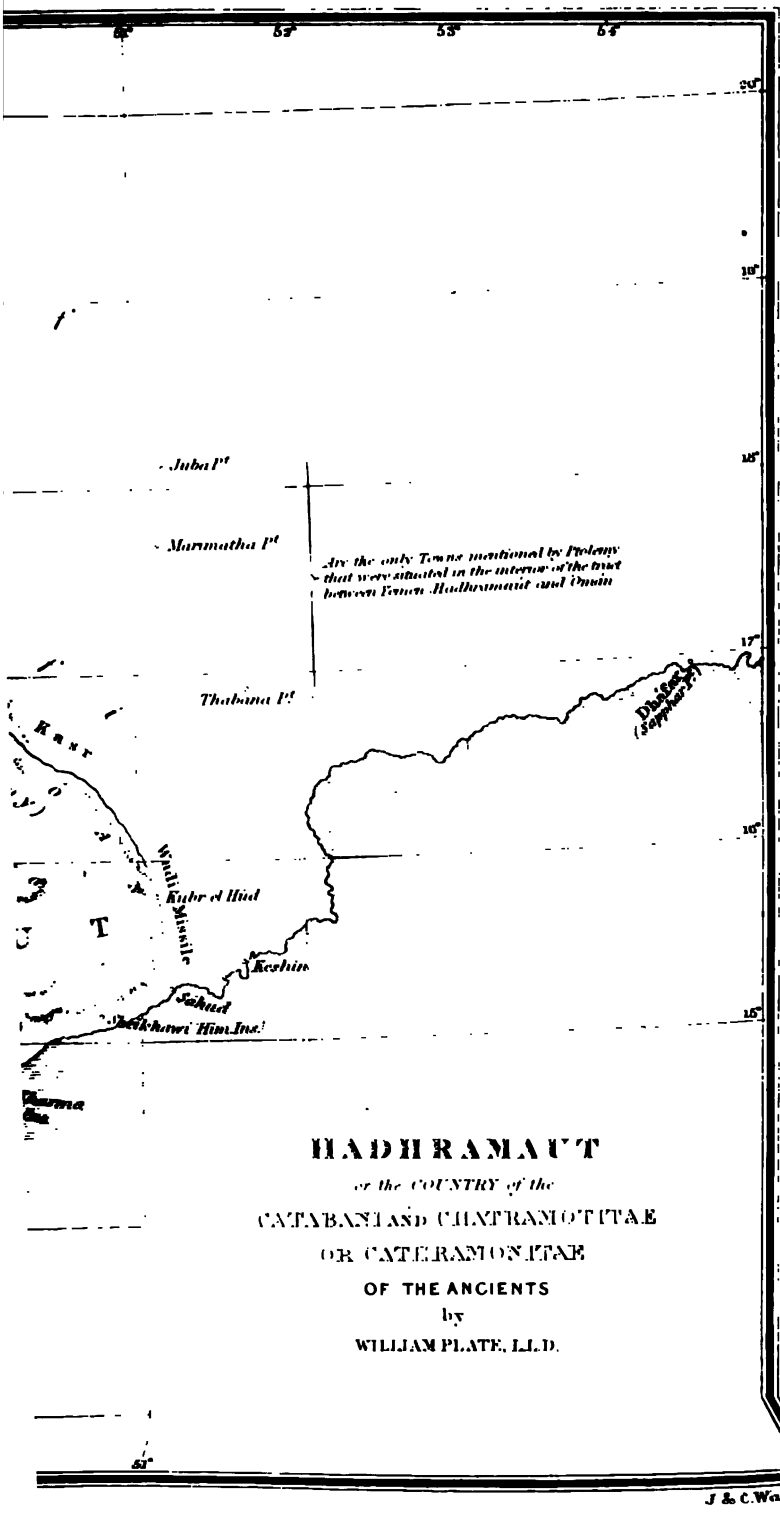
To justify the phrase, ἀξιῶ ἵνα βοηθήσῃ, to which Droysen also has objected, Voemel quotes from Thucyd. V. 36, ἐδέοντο ὅπως παραδώσουσι.

It must finally be stated, that in taking his leave of Droysen, Professor Voemel is careful to express himself in terms of much honour towards his learned opponent. I wish it had been possible for me here to lay Voemel's own dissertation more completely before the reader; but as it consists of details, there was no choice but to translate it entire, or to comment on it as I have done.

F. W. NEWMAN.



WADI DOWASIR
Bisheh R.
Wadi Kasr
Wadi Rakhie
Sand Gulf (Fons Stygis)
Hora
Wadi Aut
Gadun
Seif
Grein (Doan)
Khoreibeh
Yellow Plateau
Mareb formerly believed to have been the residence of the Queen of Sheba
WADI MAREB
Hota
Homeritae
Aden (Arabia Emporium)



HADHRAMAUT

or the COUNTRY of the

CATABANI AND CHATRAMOTITAE

OR CATERAMONITAE

OF THE ANCIENTS

by

WILLIAM PLATE, LL.D.

J & C. Walker Sc.

XII.

PTOLEMY'S KNOWLEDGE OF ARABIA.

Ptolemy had a more extensive knowledge of Arabia than any other ancient geographer, and perhaps more so than even our Niebuhrs, Burckhardts, and Jomards. But his knowledge was not accurate, and in this respect he is not unlike Edrisi, Haji Khalfah, and other eastern writers, whose accounts we are but too often unable to make correspond with reality. A glance at the crooked shape of Italy, in the maps drawn after Ptolemy's computations, the most superficial examination of his Arabia, or indeed of any other country, will shew at once how far that great standard geographer of bygone times was from geographical correctness. If we believe Gosselin, Ptolemy put the whole stock of geographical knowledge of his time on the Procrustean bed of his system—which Gosselin in his turn tears asunder on his own—and threw into confusion the most evident facts. It is not the place here to criticize the opinions of Gosselin: I shall say no more than that, in many instances, Ptolemy has sacrificed evidence to theory. His celebrated geography contains more errors than any scientific work which was ever written either before or after him, although in the art of sacrificing facts to theory he has had very distinguished followers. It is, however, no less true that, along with those errors, Ptolemy has left an immense stock of well-ascertained facts, nay, many of his most erroneous accounts will prove correct in one way, whatever may be their value in another. When he erroneously puts a town N. in x lat., y long., he is nevertheless generally right respecting the existence of that town; he is more or less right with regard to its approximative position, and its relative position to other places; and sometimes he will be found absolutely wrong but as regards its position on that very spot where he puts it. His errors therefore often lead us to truth; and as he proceeded rationally and systematically, and never on mere hearsay or fancy, they generally guide us in ascertaining reality whenever we succeed

in finding out the conceptions that misled him. In this kind of researches, however, we ought not to reckon upon success with too much confidence: it is a very difficult business, requiring often a sort of identification on our part with Ptolemy's mental proceedings, and always a knowledge of certain leading facts, of which we must conjecture that they had their share in guiding him.

In the first number of the *Classical Museum* (pp. 100, 101), I have said that, although the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy are of little direct use, they are nevertheless very important on account of their relative accuracy.

There is scarcely a country where the truth of this assertion becomes more conspicuous than Arabia. The number of towns, many of them the seats of kings, which, according to Ptolemy, were situated in the interior of that country, has been the wonder of all ages; and strong indeed must be the belief in his authority when even Jomard thinks himself justified in saying: "*Il est donc probable que l'aspect de la carte d'Arabie, à mesure qu'elle se perfectionnera, ira toujours en se rapprochant un peu de la physionomie de la carte de Ptolémée*[1]."

I shall, however, endeavour to shew that Ptolemy has placed many towns in the inland of Southern Arabia, the famous wilderness of El-Ahkaf, which in reality existed, and perhaps still exist, in the province of Hadhramaút, this name being taken in its narrower sense, and confined to the tract between Yemen in the west, and El-Sheher or Mahra in the east. The evidence I shall produce to that effect is partly circumstantial, and partly direct, and taken from Ptolemy's own statements, as well as from the accounts of the first European traveller that ever penetrated into the interior of the *Regio myrrifera*, the Baron von Wrede, which are contained in the first part of the 14th volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.

It is a fact beyond all doubt that Ptolemy derived his knowledge of the interior of Arabia mostly from merchants who carried on the overland trade between Egypt on one side, and the Persian Gulf and the Indian Sea on the other, whence they proceeded to Persia and India. In enumerating the inland towns, he regularly begins in the west with a place at some

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[1] *Etudes Géographiques et Historiques*, in Mengin, *Histoire Sommaire de l'Egypte*, p. 278.

ce from the Red Sea, and he finishes in the east with town near the Persian Gulf or the Indian Sea, mentioning tervenient places as he finds them on his way from W. to ıe sea-ports, which were the real points whence he started hither he went, may easily be supplied from his table of ast towns. With the exception of a few which he picks ;asionally, or which were perhaps displaced by negligent ıts, all the inland towns were apparently distributed on een roads, being the principal caravan roads on which the ıula was crossed by those who went from the Red Sea ıd to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Sea. They are:— n Aramana to Thapava, an inland town (this road seems ve joined No. 2 at Pharatha); 2, from Macna to Satula 1 and 2 led from the northernmost part of the Red Sea northern corner of the Persian Gulf); 3, from Laba to ; 4, from Soaca to Phigia; 5, from Badais to Alata; 6, Mochura to Ibirtha (four roads from different places in jáz to El-Hassa or Lahassa); 7, from Iathrippa (Medina) tara, and thence to Gerra (the road taken by Captain r coincides with portions of 6 and 7); 8, from Baema or ı to Rhabama, from the environs of Medina to the con- of El-Hassa and 'Omán; 9, from Agdami to Tiagara, ;h the same tract; 10, from Marasdi (west of Mekka) to an inland town of El-Sheher or Mahra (this road runs gara, and thence through the south-western part of the ness El-Ahkaf). No towns are mentioned between Nagara ıba. Nor does Ptolemy know any road from Mekka, or ırn Yemen, to 'Omán, across the great desert of El-

remaining seven roads will be examined hereafter. They o cross the central portion of El-Ahkaf, but a closer in- on will shew that they were the high-roads between Yemen adhramaút.

great sagacity is required to see that Ptolemy had a ten- towards putting the inland towns too far east; but whe- t was a mere *horror vacui*, or some misunderstanding, nduced him to do so, cannot be decided. My own im- on is, that he considered the shape and dimensions of ı, as computed from the logs of skilful navigators, to be re accurate basis than the dimensions which he might lerived from the accounts of inland traders; and that in

filling up the map, he brought the accounts of those two sorts of observers into harmony, by sacrificing those of the landsmen to those of seamen, in all cases where the truth was not manifestly on the side of the inland travellers. He was, however, sadly misled by the navigators with regard to the coast along the Persian Gulf, which is wretchedly misshapen in his map; and the erroneous extent which he gives to Arabia to the east, south-east, and south, seems no less to have its origin in most inaccurate logs. The coast along the Red Sea is surprisingly accurate, and this circumstance is of great importance in the following calculations.

If in Ptolemy's map we draw a line from Iambia, now Yánbó, on the Red Sea, which was the base of his measurements, to Sapphar, now Záfar or Dháfar, on the Indian Sea, a triangle is formed by this line in the east, by the coast-line of the Red Sea in the west, and that of the Indian Sea in the south. This triangle takes up more than one-third of all Arabia, as it existed in the imagination of Ptolemy; but, in reality, it occupies only one-eighth of Arabia. This difference arises from Ptolemy making the coast from Iambia to the entrance of the Red Sea, by one and a half degree of latitude, too long, and from his putting Sapphar at more than two hundred miles south-east from the spot where it ought to have been placed. The triangle is filled up in the Ptolemean map by a great number of towns. Of those in the north, most were, according to all appearance, actually situated within the limits of the triangle; and I shall shew, hereafter, that among those in the south only three could possibly be situated east of the auxiliary line. Now, the triangle thus described comprehends Southern Hejáz, Yemen, and Hadhramaút; and the number of towns within the triangle is about one-half of all the towns that Ptolemy knew in Arabia. About one-half of the towns mentioned by Ptolemy as situated in south-western Arabia, were consequently situated in Southern Hejáz, Yemen, and Hadhramaút; and about one-half of all the towns we know of in Arabia are situated in the same countries. This being the case, and there being but three inland towns lying east of the auxiliary line in Ptolemy's map[2], no towns remain which we could place in the immense tract stretching from the auxiliary

[2] In El-Sheher. See below.

line east towards 'Omán, except the three just mentioned, of which I shall speak presently. This process would almost be sufficient to shew that Ptolemy knew no towns in the wilderness of El-Ahkaf. However, the result has been obtained by means of an artificial auxiliary line, and, however great its probability may be, the case admits of doubt. I shall endeavour to remove these doubts through the evidence of Baron von Wrede, and the conclusions thereof, when compared with other facts; no auxiliary lines will then be required any more, and I hope to convince the reader that Ptolemy knew no more towns in the central portion of southern Arabia than we do.

The map which accompanies this paper shews the positive geographical results of Baron von Wrede's journey, with as much accuracy as was possible to obtain from short and sometimes vague and obscure accounts. For further particulars, I refer to the account of the baron's journey in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, and to my description of Hadhramaút in the article "Arabia," in the supplement to the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

The principal object of the traveller's hazardous expedition was the discovery of the celebrated Wadi Dóán, which Seetzen knew to be where the baron found it, but which Niebuhr placed at some hundred miles thence, north-east, in the unknown desert. Wadi Dóán seems to be the general name of a long valley watered by a running stream, which originates in the northern part of Hadhramaút, in a high table-land. A comparison of Wrede's and Seetzen's accounts (in the twenty-eighth volume of Zach, *Monatliche Correspondenz*), shews that its upper part consists of two branches. The northern branch is called Wadi Amt, and afterwards Wadi Hajarin; the southern branch has at first the name of Wadi Nebbi, and a little lower down it is called Wadi Dóán. This is Wadi Dóán Proper: it joins the Wadi Hajarin mentioned above. The Wadi Dóán, in the more extensive meaning of the word, runs east, south-east, and south; its lower portions are called Wadi Kasr and Wadi Missile. The Wadi Dóán is the largest and most fertile valley of Hadhramaút, is densely inhabited, and crowded with villages and thriving towns, the ancient origin of which is an indisputable fact; it is also the eastern boundary of Hadhramaút Proper.

East of the country of the Homeritæ, Ptolemy places the

river Prion: between the country of the Homeritæ and the Prion was the country of the Chatramotitæ or Cathramonitæ (inhabitants of Hadhramaút), which was famous for its myrrh. The Prion was consequently the eastern boundary of the Chatramotitæ.

I shall now shew that the Prion of Ptolemy is identical with the Wadi Dóán.

The length of the Wadi Dóán is about two hundred and seventy geographical miles from the beginning of the Wadi Amt to Sähüt, where it reaches the Indian Sea; and about two hundred and forty geographical miles from the beginning of the Wadi Nebbi to that place. The length of the Prion, from its source in lat. 17° 30′, long. 82°, to its mouth in lat. 13° 30′, long. 85°, may be calculated at about three hundred geographical miles, but this length must be somewhat reduced, on account of Ptolemy's drawing the coast too far south. The difference of longitude between the origin of the Wadi Nebbi (branch of Wadi Dóán) and the mouth of Wadi Dóán, near Sähüt, is 3 degrees; between the origin of the Wadi Amt (branch of Wadi Dóán) and Sähüt, it is 3½ degrees. The difference of longitude between the source and the mouth of the Prion is 3 degrees. At some distance west of the upper part of the Prion, Ptolemy puts the town of Vodona: one of the towns in the Wadi Dóán Proper, probably the town of Grein, is sometimes called Dóán, and there seems to be little doubt that Vodona is the same name as either Wadi Dóán or Ud Dóán, ال دوان, but slightly mutilated by the Greek pronounciation. Resemblance between Greek and Arabic words, however, is a leading fact in the geography of Arabia, especially when the identity of a place is corroborated by additional circumstances. The names given by Ptolemy to Arabic towns differ often so little from their present names, that no scholarship is required to recognize their identity. Such are Maccala and Makalla, Sapphar and Záfar or Dháfar, Iatrippa and Yatreb, the ante-Mohammedan name of Medina; Macoraba and Mekka, the termination raba meaning a large town; Mariaba and Máreb, and many more.

The difference of longitude between Arabia Emporium ('Aden) which Ptolemy puts in long. 80°, and Sapphar (Záfar), in long. 88°, is 8 degrees, the real distance being 9 degrees and 22 minutes, a trifle more or less. From Arabia Emporium to the

mouth of the Prion he reckons 5 degrees, and thence to Sapphar, 3 degrees; while from 'Aden to the mouth of the Wadi Dóán there are 6 degrees and 10 minutes, and thence to Zafar, 3 degrees and 12 minutes. Ptolemy did consequently not know the precise distance between Arabia Emporium and Sapphar, nor that of the mouth of the Prion from either of those towns. But this is of little importance, his Prion lies between Arabia Emporium and Sapphar, and so does the Wadi Dóán; and whatever the difference between Ptolemy's distance and the real distance may be, the relative position of the mouth of the river in question, with regard to 'Aden and Záfar, is the same in Ptolemy's calculation as well as in reality. For the distance from Arabia Emporium to the mouth of the Prion is 5 degrees, being five-eighths of the distance from that town to Sapphar, which is 8 degrees, according to Ptolemy; and the distance from Sapphar to the Prion is 3 degrees, being three-eighths of the distance from Sapphar to Arabia Emporium. On the other hand, the real distance from 'Aden to Sähüt, or the mouth of the Wadi Dóán, is 6 degrees and 10 minutes, being a trifle more than five-eighths of the whole distance, which is 9 degrees and 22 minutes; and the real distance from Záfar to Sähüt is 3 degrees and 12 minutes, which is a trifle less than three-eighths of the real distance between Záfar and 'Aden. Indeed, another trifling difference arises out of the circumstance that the longitudinal distances ought to be measured on different parallels, those of Ptolemy being more southern than those on which the localities in question are really situated; but the reader must be aware that the question is not based upon astronomical computations, but only upon approximative distances, where the difference of twenty minutes, more or less, is of little importance. The great fact is, that the relative position of Ptolemy's Prion to Emporium Arabicum and Sapphar, corresponds with the relative position of the Wadi Dóán to 'Aden and Záfar, whence I am the more inclined to identify them, as there is no other river in the environs of Sähüt, which bears the slightest comparison with the Prion. There is one objection possible, which I think proper to anticipate and refute. Ptolemy speaks of a river, and mentions its mouth, while no water has ever been seen flowing out of the Wadi Missile into the sea. The fact is, the rivers in Arabia keep their mouths closed, and nothing is seen coming out, except in an unusually showery

season, when the water will wind its way through the burning tehamas (low lands), and discharge itself into the sea.

The presence of a watercourse of the length of the river Wadi Dóán in this part of Arabia was so little thought of by modern geographers, that Jomard says (l. c. p. 359), the Prion was one of the "*quatre fleuves que Ptolémée accorde libéralement à l'Arabie méridionale,*" an assertion which is little consistent with his words quoted above.

The identity of the Prion with the Wadi Dóán leads to most important results.

Ptolemy mentions a considerable number of inland towns west and south-west of the Prion, which, if we could trust the Ptolemean maps, would lie in the most central parts of the great wilderness of El-Ahkaf. Such a conclusion, however, would be most erroneous. The magnitude, the fertility, and the commercial importance of that extraordinary valley are so many reasons for believing that Ptolemy knew perfectly well which towns the trader would find on his way from the Red Sea to the Prion, and which after having crossed this valley. We therefore cannot but presume that the towns which he placed west of the Prion were actually situated there, and not east of it. These towns consequently belonged to Hadhramaút Proper (west of the Wadi Dóán). East of the Prion Ptolemy knows but three inland towns, Juba, Marimatha, and Thabane, which were probably situated in as many oases in that part of the awful wilderness of El-Sheher which bordered on Hadhramaút. But not one town remains to be placed in the great desert of El-Ahkaf, and whatever may be the physical character of that tract, which is by no means void of inhabitants and settlements, Ptolemy knew no more towns there than we do.

The towns west of the Prion in Hadhramaút Proper appear to have been situated on the following seven roads from the Red Sea to the Prion and the more eastern provinces. From Pudni, now Jisán, Ptolemy proceeds on two roads to the upper part of the Prion, and thence into El-Sheher, viz.: 11, from (Pudni, Sabe), Magulava, Sylaeum, Mariama (Thumna), Vodona, across the Prion, to Marimatha in El-Sheher; 12, from (Pudni) Sabe, Menabis, by Thabba, &c. to Thabane in El-Sheher; 13, from Miba to Maepha (from Southern Yemen to Wadi Maifaat); 14, from Saraca to Sapphar (from Southern Yemen

to Záfar); 15, from Thuris to Sachla (from Southern Yemen to the mouth of Wadi Dóán); 16, from Saba Regia to Cua and Cane (same tract); 17, from Ocelis, by Deva, to Cua, coincides partly with the preceding road. About sixteen of the towns through which these roads passed were situated in Hadhramaút Proper. Thabba corresponds in name and position to Sava, visited by Baron von Wrede, and Maepha seems to be the name of the principal town in the Wadi Maifaat, where some of those Himyaritic inscriptions have been found which have so much attracted the attention of Europe.

W. Plate.

XIII.

THE ANTIGONE OF SOPHOCLES AND THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

In the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for April last appears an article entitled "The Antigone and its Critics," but which might have been more appropriately headed "The Antigone and its *Critic*," since it is pretty nearly made up of an attack upon myself, in relation to a review of M. Böckh's edition of the Antigone, which I had the honour of writing for the fourth number of the *Classical Museum*.

The intention of the first paragraph or two seems to be to let the world know that the reviewer has actually heard Tieck read a play at Dresden; an event which, by an application of Schiller's words, he calls having "been in Arcady." Precisely in like manner, the penny-showman at a country fair blows a flourish on his tin trumpet to attract the attention of the gaping rustics. I at once confess that the reviewer has here the advantage of me. I have never been in Arcady; nevertheless I will venture to assume so much of the Arcadian character as consists in being ready to reply. Let us then for the moment be

——— Arcades ambo,
Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.

It may perhaps appear in the course of the discussion that our bungling showman, in exhibiting his tragic puppets, sometimes contrives to pull the wrong wire, and to present them to the view of the astonished spectators with the heels where the head should be.

In the æsthetic mode of viewing a play, the primary object is to determine the *grundgedanke*, or fundamental idea, on which it turns. That there must be some *prevailing* idea critics of all schools will acknowledge, though some, perhaps, may think the æsthetics rather shabby in allowing the poet only one. What, then, is the *grundgedanke* of the Antigone?

Again, it is discussed by the reviewer whether Sophocles

adopted this fundamental idea consciously, or unconsciously; in other words, whether the light of the æsthetic doctrine had ever beamed on the mind of the Greek poet, or whether its rays were first collected, some half-century ago, in the prism of a metaphysician, shut up in his closet in Germany. On the present occasion, it is so far from my intention to dogmatise on either of these questions that I shall not even offer an opinion upon them, but content myself with collecting all the information I can from the reviewer. For this purpose I have been at the pains of putting his scattered hints into one point of view, and now beg to present the readers of the *Classical Museum* with the fruit of my researches; a present for which, I doubt not, they will feel duly grateful. Let us take the last question first.

On consulting, then, our Arcadian oracle, I found (p. 68) the following remarks:—

> These indications of the subject may be explained in two ways. First, that Sophocles was an unconscious artist, and then the frequency of these indications would arise from the subject being constantly uppermost in his mind, and therefore expressing itself in details no less than in the whole piece. Secondly, that he was a conscious artist, and worked critically. There is every reason to believe the latter.

Now this is satisfactory. The answer is precise. Sophocles was a conscious artist. Unfortunately, however, it is the nature of oracles to be obscure and contradictory, nor does this of Arcadia form an exception. On a previous consultation it had emitted the subjoined response:—

> He (M. Böckh) would make the fundamental idea a purely moral one: the dramatic exposition of an *apho*thegm (sic). Agreeing with him as to the *apho*thegm, we are nevertheless disposed to regard the drama as the exposition of character *called into action by an ethical dilemma*, and thereby suggesting the *apho*thegm rather than being founded upon it. In other words, admitting M. Böckh's view of the moral, we believe that it arises out of the natural development of the subject, not that Sophocles developed his subject in accordance with a preconceived moral. (P. 57.)

On comparing these two responses, I must confess that I was sorely puzzled. In the first we find that Sophocles was a *conscious* artist; that is, according to the æsthetic notion,

before he set to work he proposed to himself some *idea* as the groundwork of his drama, and of which the action and characters were to be the exposition and illustration; yet from the second we learn that he did *not* develop his subject in accordance with a *preconceived* moral, but that it—the moral—arose out of the *natural development* of the subject. The Arcadian agrees with M. Böckh's view of the moral; he further tells us that Sophocles worked consciously, *i. e.* on æsthetic principles, or with a preconceived idea, and which, as the reviewer agrees with M. Böckh, could have been none other but a moral one; and yet, after all, the play is only an "exposition of character," and instead of being "founded on the *apho*thegm" (which, perhaps, is Arcadian Greek for *apophthegm*), merely suggests it. "Davus sum non Œdipus." I plead guilty to being dull enough not to comprehend all this.

Despairing, then, of getting any light from the reviewer upon the first point, let us try whether we shall be more successful with the other; viz. what is the fundamental idea of the Antigone?

In order to arrive at this it is necessary to form an estimate of the characters of Creon and Antigone. First, did Sophocles mean to represent Creon as a cruel and arbitrary tyrant, or as a just and righteous sovereign? Second, did he mean to paint Antigone as a headstrong girl, disobeying the commands of her prince merely out of obstinacy and self-will, or as violating them reluctantly, and at the cost of her life, at the stern bidding of a high and noble principle?

If we turn to the Arcadian for a solution of these questions, we find ourselves much in the same plight as on the former occasion. Creon is a tyrant and no tyrant; Antigone has committed a crime, and at the same time performed a duty. It may seem incredible that even an oracle should utter such flat contradictions. Let us, therefore, produce the vouchers.

On the negative side of the question we find, among other passages:

> Creon is right, that is, justified by precedent and regal authority, in prohibiting the burial of Polynices. (p. 58.) Creon's prohibition was nothing new, startling, or tyrannical. (p. 59.) We may safely assert that Creon's edict was not tyrannical, but it was irreligious. (p. 60.) Both Creon and Antigone were right. (p. 64.)

On the affirmative side we find:

And yet both were wrong. (p. 58.) No one has doubted Creon's crime. (ibid.) Creon is in the state painted in one line by the chorus; he mistakes evil for good. (p. 68.) Creon outrages the feelings of his son, as he had before outraged the sacred feelings which were at the bottom of Antigone's disobedience; in both cases mistaking evil for good, tyranny for justice. (p. 69.)

The first thought that occurs to a plain man on reading this *farrago* is, how Creon could possibly be right and yet be mistaken? The next, that whether he mistook or not is wholly immaterial. He could not but mistake. All tyrants do so. They mistake their own duties and their subjects' rights. A right-thinking tyrant is—to use again that obnoxious phrase with which the reviewer, for want, perhaps, of something better to say, has so cruelly baited me—a "logical absurdity."

On the point whether Creon was "justified by *precedent* and regal authority" in acting as he did, it will perhaps be thought that Creon's own opinion is entitled to more weight than the reviewer's. Now, what does he tell us? Why, that he had violated the laws:

> *δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους*
> *ἄριστον ἢ σώζοντα τὸν βίον τελεῖν.* V. 1068.

I wish, however, to state the reviewer's arguments, so far as they are intelligible to me, with perfect fairness. If I should unfortunately misapprehend them, not through his fault but my own, let it be imputed to my "dulness," and not to a want of candour. From the following passage it would seem that the apparent contradictions in the sentences above quoted are to be reconciled by a wonderful change that takes place both in Creon and Antigone upon their coming into collision. "Hitherto," says the reviewer (p. 64), "there has been only the silent opposition of duty against power. Both Antigone and Creon were right. Now begins the open struggle between will and will: each persisting in the respective right leads to a mutual wrong. The abstract ground of duty is forsaken for the concrete and tragical ground of individual will; the abstract interest is merged in the personal interest."

Thus the difficulty is solved by the promulgation of one of the most singular and admirable ethical principles ever heard of. Creon and Antigone, it appears, were right both in forming

and in acting upon their respective opinions; they become wrong only because they do not repudiate them directly they *come into collision;* that is, when any danger or inconvenience threaten to arise from the maintaining of them! Antigone, says the reviewer, had she "been one less vehement, would have *affected ignorance* of the edict, or, at least, have *implored pardon* But then the *tragic collision* could not have taken place. The chorus, *naturally revolted* at such bravado, says, that she has the unbending fierceness of her race. It is this vehemence which rouses the vehemence of Creon." (p. 65.)

Pure and sublime moralist! Profound and ingenious critic Worthy expounder of the philosophy of Socrates and Plato Had Antigone, then, condescended to a falsehood, and "affected ignorance of the edict," or had she abjectly fallen at Creon's feet, promised to be a good girl, and never do so any more both she and Creon would have *remained right*, though, as the reviewer sagaciously remarks, there would have been no "tragic collision." How unspeakably mean! Antigone's sole fault now appears to be, that she is incapable of acting out of her heroic nature; that she is not cowardly enough to tell a lie, or abject enough to lick the feet of the tyrant who has outraged her!

But do we really get rid of the contradictions by this miserable expedient? Even admitting that it could be shewn in this way, that both Creon and Antigone were *wrong*, can it also be thus proved that two persons acting, previously to the "collision," on diametrically opposite principles with respect to the same affair, were both *right?* The shallow fallacy lies in not recognizing the predominance of the higher principle. If we ask the reviewer, or indeed M. Böckh, why religion should not have paramount force with Creon as well as with Antigone—why he is right in violating it and she in observing it—he is silent. In our present imperfect state it is impossible to fulfil two contradictory obligations, and it is absurd to say that he who chooses the higher is guilty, or that he who prefers the lower is innocent. The case of the religious martyrs in the reign of bloody Mary, when directed to "turn or burn," is one precisely in point. A circumstance, moreover, which the reviewer has studiously concealed, should never be lost sight of when considering this play; namely, that Polynices appears in

arms against his country merely to recover the crown out of which he had been cheated by his younger brother, and of course with the connivance of Creon.

The preceding contradictions, however, are contained in separate and distinct sentences, decently divided by a few pages from one another. It was reserved for the reviewer to accomplish the hitherto unparalleled feat of uttering gravely, and with an air of sincere conviction, a flat contradiction in terms in one and the same sentence. "Creon," says he (p. 59), "though a τύραννος, was not a tyrant!"

The force of nature could no further go.

The reviewer is evidently a man to question the proposition that "it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be;" an axiom which Locke tells us (*Essay*, b. I. c. 2, § 4) nobody would think of disputing but certain persons whom it might not be polite here to mention. We do not fight in ambuscade in the *Classical Museum*, and therefore

Nobis non licet esse *tam* disertis.

In the last instance, indeed, I have assumed that "tyrant" is the English for τύραννος. This, however, is, it seems, one of those three remarkable blunders of mine which the reviewer has so considerately undertaken to expose and "make useful." I am always happy to be useful, nor shall I grudge it to the readers of the *Foreign Quarterly* if they grow wiser by my errors; but on this occasion I doubt whether my blunder would not have done them more service than the reviewer's correction. "Creon," says he, "though a τύραννος, was not a tyrant; he was an hereditary ruler, governing by the laws of the land, not an (a) usurper, governing in *defiance* of those laws." I am not unreasonable enough to suppose that the reviewer has read Thucydides; but if he had he would have found (Lib. I. 13) that the form of government he has here described was called a πατρικὴ βασιλεία ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι, in contradistinction to a τυραννίς. The difference between a βασιλεία and τυραννίς did not consist, as he supposes, in the power being *hereditary* or *usurped*, but in its being *limited* or *unlimited*. This is confirmed by Aristotle: ἡ μὲν κατὰ τάξιν τινὰ (μοναρχία), βασιλεία· ἡ δ' ἀόριστος, τυραννίς. (Rhet. I. 8. 4; comp. Xenoph. *Mem. Soc.* IV. 6. 12.) The same author informs us that a τυραννίς might

arise from a degeneracy or abuse (*παρέκβασις*) of a *πατρικὴ βασιλεία*, and was not, therefore, necessarily a usurpation. *Παρεκβάσεις δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων, τυραννὶς μὲν βασιλείας, κ.τ.λ.* Polit. 3. 5. (P. 83, Tauchn.) And again, *αἱ δὲ (τυραννίδες) πρὸ τούτων ἔκ τε τῶν βασιλέων παρεκβαινόντων τά πάτρια καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας ἀρχῆς ὀρεγομένων (κατέστασαν)* *Ibid.* 5. 8. (P. 177.) And so Eteocles himself, Creon's predecessor, calls his government a tyranny in the well-known lines:

> ——— *οὐ παρήσω τῷδ' ἐμὴν τυραννίδα.*
> *εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρὴ τυραννίδος πέρι*
> *κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν.* Eurip. *Phœn.* 533.

Such, then, when we come to speak *strictly*, is the distinction. It is quite true, however, that the Athenians used the term *τύραννος*, and with a very expressive meaning, of him who usurped the sovereign power, either in a limited monarchy or in a republic. The reason is obvious. If a republic was converted by a revolution into a monarchy, it is plain that the usurper could not be called an hereditary and constitutional *βασιλεύς*. His usurpation having overturned the laws, he would govern by laws of his own making, and would, therefore, be the arbitrary and absolute *τύραννος*, and not the *πατρικὸς βασιλεύς*. As this species of revolution was most to be dreaded in a democracy like that of Athens, it was natural that the term which expressed it should be very hateful. Now Creon was one of that kind of hereditary tyrants from whom the name was borrowed to express a usurper; the possessor of an hereditary, but absolute monarchy, and governing, not by laws, as the reviewer is continually asserting, but, like the first Charles, by edicts and proclamations. When Hæmon drops a hint about the opinion of the Theban people, Creon is utterly amazed at the bare suggestion, and exclaims:

> *πόλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἁμὲ χρὴ τάσσειν ἐρεῖ;* v. 734.

His maxim, like the French despot's, was, *l'état c'est moi.* The Arcadian sees nothing in such a government but what is admirable, and perfectly in accordance with Attic notions. I had ventured to question the latter fact, but have only manifested thereby "an utter misconception of Greek feelings and ideas." Now it may perhaps be doubted whether a man who cannot translate so easy a line as *καλῶς ἐρήμης γ' ἂν σὺ γῆς ἄρχοις μό-*

νος, who writes "Hypolytus" for "Hippolytus," and commits other like blunders, be a very good judge of Greek feelings and ideas. I shall, therefore, with all due deference, still venture to maintain the opinions above expressed, although they have drawn upon me the misfortune to be denounced by the reviewer as a "Radical." But I hope it is not necessary to belong to that faction in order to entertain such sentiments; and if my political tenets are of the slightest importance, or have any thing to do with the question, I beg to state, for the reviewer's satisfaction, that I am a Conservative. The reviewer is very eloquent on passive obedience and the duty of unconditional submission; but on this point it is unnecessary to trouble the reader with his trash about the death of Socrates, simply because I have never maintained the absurdity he imputes to me, and which he ridicules as another of my blunders, namely, that to resist *the laws* was no crime. The blunder is his own, in confounding a cruel and arbitrary proclamation with the laws of the land; yet, while I admire the submission of Socrates, let him not suppose that I approve the verdict of his judges. But a person like the reviewer should take care how he handles such edged-tools as arguments, for he has here contrived to cut himself very badly. According to him, did not Antigone resist the laws? And has he not told us that she was *right?* Really it is to be hoped that the poor gentleman does not go alone.

But the reviewer is so enamoured of contradictions, that he undertakes to prove (p. 60), that "not only was resistance a crime, but it might happen that passive obedience would also be a crime. It is so in the *Choëphoræ* and *Antigone.*" Here the reviewer (if I understand his meaning), with his usual accuracy of thought and expression, calls the *active* piety of Antigone and Orestes, *passive obedience.* It is only fair, however, to say, that to the preceding paradox he has done me the justice to add the remark, "But as this is a logical absurdity, Mr. Dyer could give no credence to it." It is true that on such occasions I am accustomed to inquire to what principles obedience is to be rendered, and not to confound right with wrong, divine commands with human. The reviewer's meaning in the passage just quoted is explained (p. 58) as follows: "Mr. Dyer should remember the *Choëphoræ* of Æschylus. There Orestes, having been commanded by Apollo to

avenge the murder of Agamemnon, is placed in the terrible dilemma of becoming a matricide, or of leaving his father's murder unavenged. He obeys the terrible command; in obeying Apollo, however, he outrages the Eumenides, and accordingly is pursued by them as a criminal. He is a matricide, and is punished as such. Had he disobeyed Apollo, he would also have been punished. Is not this a 'logical absurdity' of a similar character to that in the *Antigone?* Is not Orestes here in a dilemma from which he cannot escape? whichever side he takes, must he not be criminal? Accordingly, when in the Eumenides his cause is tried before the Areopagites, six votes are given for, and six against him, thereby expressing the nicely-balanced nature of his deed, at once both pious and criminal."

I feel grateful to the reviewer for recalling the *Choëphoræ* to my remembrance on the occasion of this, my third blunder. It would never have occurred to me *spontaneously* to parallel the murder of a mother with the burial of a brother. But the reviewer, by a privilege not conceded to every man, possesses as great a "felicity in blundering," when stating his facts, as when drawing his conclusions. He has evidently read the *Eumenides*—there is a German version of it by Müller—yet, when initiating the "unlearned reader" into its mysteries in the preceding paragraph (of which every word relating to the subject has been quoted), he has neglected to inform him of a circumstance which common minds may possibly think of some little importance, viz. that Orestes, instead of being "punished," is acquitted, and that, too, by the Goddess of Wisdom herself! By all that we can learn from him, the verdict still hangs in the balance. He tells us that there were six votes for Orestes and six against him, and, as he adds that Orestes was "punished as a matricide," the "unlearned reader"—a personage for whom the reviewer, with a sagacious estimate of his own powers, has specially prepared his lucubrations—will naturally infer that, by the constitution of the Areopagus, when the votes were equal, the accused was condemned. The punishment of Orestes is only that natural, but temporary, anguish of mind which could not but follow so dreadful a deed. The "unlearned reader" will, I fear, be somewhat in the predicament of Chremylus in the play of *Aristophanes*, and follow,—

κατόπιν ἀνθρώπου τυφλοῦ
τοὐναντίον δρῶν ἢ προσῆκ' αὐτῷ ποιεῖν·
οἱ γὰρ βλέποντες τοῖς τυφλοῖς ἡγούμεθα.

Though the reviewer thinks that I have "no misgivings respecting the amount of my acquaintance with antiquity," I will take leave to assure him, that I am quite sensible of my deficiencies. But, as the little I do know has been drawn from the original sources, and not taken at second-hand and on trust from the Germans, I will here venture to state my opinion, that the best illustration of what was likely to please an Attic audience, when the play turned on the subject of tyranny and passive obedience, is afforded by the *Prometheus*, the noblest creation of the genius of Æschylus, or perhaps of any other poet. The reviewer himself cannot object to the fairness of the example, for Æschylus was the most aristocratic of the Athenian dramatists. Jove himself is there introduced as a tyrant. He has all the necessary qualifications. He might have been an hereditary tyrant, like Creon, but he could not wait; so, by thrusting out his father, Cronos, he got an additional claim to the title by usurpation. His reign was absolute (Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει); so absolute, that he left not a tittle of freedom to any one else:—

ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός. 50.

Prometheus had helped him to the throne. No sooner was he seated on it, however, than he began to use his power in a way which his ally did not quite approve. In distributing his favours, he quite forgot us poor mortals; or rather, he remembered us so well, that he resolved, like many other tyrants, on extirpating, if he could, our whole race. The kind-hearted Titan took compassion on us, and saved us from perdition. For this little piece of good-nature, his grateful friend caused him to be chained to a rock, and doomed him to dreadful punishment. The firm soul of the generous Titan remained, however, like that of Antigone, unshaken and unsubdued. He would not retract, because he was unconscious of having acted wrongly. He, too, has a friend, the very counterpart of Ismene, and a perfect contrast to himself, who earnestly entreats him to submit, and, kindly offering his best offices at court, suggests, at the same time, the dangers of disobedience. Prometheus is quite sensible of the obligation, but, like Antigone

again, he does not wish others to get into trouble on his account, and advises Oceanus to take himself off while he has yet a whole skin. He who cannot see that this scene was contrived for the purpose of heightening the respect of the audience for Prometheus, and consequently engaging their sympathies in his favour, must be blind to the most obvious principles of poetical criticism. Prometheus, then, was the hero; he was to speak such sentiments as were congenial to the minds of the audience, and which, by disposing them in favour of the poet, might help him to gain the prize, the object of all dramatic contests. Every body who has read the play knows how little those sentiments smack of passive obedience.

On the preceding grounds, then, I do not at present see any reason to alter the opinion which I had ventured to express, with regard to M. Böckh's view of the *Antigone*. In that view, the play is said to be founded on a moral; it exhibits a conflict between two of the highest of human principles, our civil and our religious duty; and yet, after all, the moral is not in the least connected with either of these principles, but turns merely on self-will and want of moderation; a moral which, with a very little ingenuity, and on the true æsthetic method of picking out all that suited my purpose, and neglecting the rest, I would engage to extract from any tragedy ever written. The whole of M. Böckh's reasoning on the character of Creon, and in which he is servilely followed by the reviewer, is indeed most extraordinary. He acknowledges that he is irreligious and tyrannical, and at the same time maintains, that Sophocles meant to paint him as a prince who loved justice and order, only that he is led astray by passion and self-will! To what tyrant might not this be, as M. Böckh expresses it, a *human excuse* (eine menschliche Entschuldigung)? He then proceeds to say that, decide that point as we will, still Antigone was wrong; because, however tyrannical was Creon's decree, it was nevertheless law, till his power was overthrown by a revolution, a fate which, he pretty plainly tells us, it deserved to meet. (*Zweyte Abhandlung*, pp. 261-3.) But who does not see that this is mere trifling, and such a complete misconception of the play as to upset its very foundation? For, putting aside the absurdity of supposing that Antigone could, on such an emergency, wait for a revolution, is it not obvious, that if she had done so, there could have been no room for the display

of her heroism in following, at the sacrifice of her life, a high religious principle, in defiance of an edict which, allowing even that it was law, M. Böckh himself characterizes as both unjust and irreligious?

There is a passage in Demosthenes' oration, "De falsa Legatione," which I had almost overlooked, but which shews, very plainly, what sort of impression the character of Creon was intended to produce upon the audience. It is the following: *Ἀντιγόνην δὲ Σοφοκλέους πολλάκις μὲν Θεόδωρος πολλάκις δὲ Ἀριστόδημος ὑποκέκριται, ἐν ᾗ πεποιημένα ἰαμβεῖα καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως ὑμῖν πολλάκις αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παρέλιπεν· ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαίρετον ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας εἰσίεναι· ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐν τῷ δράματι τούτῳ σκέψασθε ὁ Κρέων Αἰσχίνης οἷα λέγων πεποίηται τῷ ποιητῇ· κ. τ. λ.* § 274 (p. 140, Shilleto). The orator then goes on to quote a passage from the first speech of Creon, containing sentiments very excellent *per se*, but which, when compared with the rest of the tyrant's conduct, I had ventured to designate as displayed *ad captandum vulgus*. In this opinion of Creon's hypocrisy I am borne out by the scholiast on v. 192, who says of him, *μέλλων δὲ περὶ ἀπεχθοῦς κηρύγματος λέγειν, μακροτέρῳ χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ*; by several passages in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, and *Coloneus*; and, indeed, in some measure by M. Böckh himself, who, however (p. 177), characterizes these traits by the milder term of "worldly wisdom" (Weltklugheit). Though, therefore, we can draw no inference from the preceding passage of Demosthenes in favour of Creon, we may conclude from it, that his was a character not intended to produce any favourable impression on an Athenian audience, not only from the contemptuous way in which "Mr. Creon Æschines" is spoken of, but from the fact, that it was a part intrusted to the tritagonist, or third-rate actor, and, indeed, to so bad a one as Æschines, who was at length hissed off the stage.

I am now pretty well tired, and perhaps the reader too, of this Arcadian *duetto*, in which discords are predominant, and where the harsh and stridulous pipe of the local deity makes itself so disagreeably audible. It will, perhaps, be thought that, on an average allowance, and with economical management, the reviewer's blunders and absurdities would suffice to

season a whole volume instead of a flippant and "popular" article in one of our leading periodicals. Yet there is still one point which I cannot pass over in silence. Aristotle tells us, that the actors in tragedy were of the heroic stamp, whilst the chorus were but men. (*Problem.* § 19. 48.) But the reviewer, who sets up for a judge of the Greek drama, is utterly incapable of forming any conception of the heroic character. With him, all female heroism is but the "spasmodic violence of a feminine soul" (p. 69). Farewell, then, ye Clælias and ye Boadiceas, ye Joans of Arc, and ye maids of Saragossa! or ye more fictitious, but not less pleasing heroines whom the poets have embalmed in our imaginations—ye Camillas, ye Clorindas, and ye Britomarts! ye are henceforth condemned and proscribed by this new code of Anglo-German æsthetics. Yet, to some, it may be a question, whether a man of so small a soul as the reviewer would be able to comprehend such a character as Antigone's, were he to read Hegel till he was blind. You cannot make the less contain the greater. You cannot put the ocean into a bucket, nor the soul of Antigone into "a soul of a pitcher."

If an article like the reviewer's is the sort of staple which gratifies that extensive circle of readers which it may be presumed the *Foreign Quarterly* enjoys, though we may say that the public is a *reading* public, I fear we cannot add that it is a *reflecting* one. The want of sense in the buffoon who has been hired to entertain them is not even compensated by any amusing qualities: for, if they could have found any entertainment in seeing the dulness and blunders of so obscure an individual as myself wittily exposed, I should not have grudged them their merriment, though it were at my expense. They are perfectly welcome to the pleasure, and I heartily wish, for their sakes, that there had been more of both those qualities on this occasion.

To conclude. The reviewer seems to think that I have taken a great liberty in questioning any thing that so learned a scholar as M. Böckh has written. If I have differed with that gentleman, I have given my reasons. I am very far indeed from presuming to say that they are right; that is a question which will be decided by much more competent judges than myself or the reviewer. But having been asked for my opinion of M. Böckh's theory, I was surely at liberty to state it. For

M. Böckh's learning and talents I entertain the highest respect, and I will here do him the justice to caution the "unlearned reader" from identifying all the reviewer's arguments with his. I doubt whether he will consider that he has acquired any very valuable ally in the reviewer; and fancy that he may be tempted to exclaim, with others who have been *benefited* by an officious meddler, "Save me from my friends."

THOMAS DYER.

XIV.

THE ASYLUM OF ROMULUS.

The stories of the ancient kings of Rome have lost their character and authority as genuine historical accounts, but they are still viewed, and justly so, as embodying some historical truth in the shape of popular traditions, poetical narratives, or priestly doctrines, which, if properly examined, may lead us to an accurate knowledge of events, or, at least, institutions, which are too rashly given up as lost in impenetrable darkness. Yet it must be owned, that not all the old Roman legends are of equal value, and that before we can safely draw conclusions from any one, we must subject it to a strict scrutiny, and inquire whether it is not a mere fiction, instead of being based on some historical fact.

One of the most celebrated traditions, and which is related almost without variation by all the writers on Roman history, is that concerning the Asylum of Romulus. Modern writers seem to have regarded it as a tradition not less trustworthy than that of the war with Porsena, or the league with the Latins. Huschke (*Verfassung des Serv. Tull.* p. 31) goes so far as to trace the origin of the tribe of the Luceres (which name he derives from *lucus*) to those who took refuge in the Asylum. Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.* I. note 647) had indeed some doubts concerning the supposed great number of those suppliants and new inhabitants of Rome, because he could not conceive how so many could have dwelled in the narrow space between the Capitol and the Arx—the place unanimously assigned to the Asylum. But Becker (*Handb. der Röm. Alterth.* II. p. 131) has got over this difficulty by supposing, that there is no reason why those people should have remained within the precincts of the Asylum, but that, after having obtained the protection of the presiding deity, they might have dwelled anywhere in the city. The same Becker and Göttling (*Röm. Staatsverfass.* p. 128) account for the sanctity of the relation of patron and client by the fact, that at least a part of

the clients originated in the refugees to the Asylum, and were thus placed under the particular protection of the gods. It seems therefore worth while to inquire into the possible foundation that there may be for the tradition about the Asylum.

It is well known, that the custom of taking refuge at the altar of some deity was common in Greece from the earliest ages. Now if we believe in the Asylum of Romulus, we must shew that the same custom existed in Italy, unless we suppose that Romulus had sufficient connection with, and knowledge of, Greece, to adopt this foreign institution. But even such a preposterous supposition would prove useless, for Romulus would surely never have been able to attract many suppliants from the neighbouring states, if the Asylum had been something new, which nobody knew of, and to which nobody could trust. Now there is not even a word in the Latin language to designate the Greek ἄσυλον, and there does not appear the slightest trace of the institution of sacred places of refuge in any Italian state, or in Rome itself, if we except this first Asylum of Romulus. And even of this we hear nothing beyond the story connected with the legends concerning the foundation of the city. If it served its purpose to attract citizens so well, we may naturally ask, why did the Romans shut it up, particularly as comprehensive plans for augmenting the population of Rome are ascribed to the early kings? But Dion Cassius (XLVII. 19) tells us, that with the exception of the Asylum of Romulus, there had been no instance of a similar practice up to the time of the triumvirs. This decisive statement seems to be contradicted by Dionysius, who relates (IV. 26) that Servius Tullius agreed with the Latins to build at Rome a ἱερὸν ἄσυλον. But this testimony, so far from refuting Dion Cassius, justifies our doubts concerning the Asylum of Romulus. For it appears, from Dionysius's explanation of his ἱερὸν ἄσυλον, that he meant the temple of Diana, on the Aventine, at which there were to be yearly sacrifices, both public and private, of all the Latin cities, and where all their differences were to be amicably settled. The Asylum of Servius was, therefore, by no means an asylum in the Greek sense of the word, but a religious institution, intimately connected with his alliance with Latium. This leads to the conclusion, that a similar circumstance must be at the bottom of the tradition of the Romulian Asylum. I have no doubt that it was

the *jus exsulandi* which gave rise to the whole legend. The citizens of different states, on the ground of special treaties, had the right of leaving their own city, when threatened with capital punishment, and of retiring to another, where they forthwith acquired the rights of citizens, in consequence of the *jus exsulandi*. This right was, in historical times, enjoyed (reciprocally) by the Latins and Romans; and this right it is which was extended to the time of Romulus, that is, to the first period of the city, and which gave rise to the legend about the asylum. Whether it really existed so early, it is of course hopeless to inquire; but, at any rate, it could never bring such a multitude of strangers at once into a city, as might form a distinct class of citizens, or materially influence the old population; the tradition, therefore, of the Romulian Asylum, as commonly told, must be rejected.

But there is one objection which remains to be dealt with. Becker (*Handb.* II. p. 19) thinks that the tradition cannot be doubted, because the identical spot of the old asylum was shewn in historical times, surrounded by a wall, to prevent any further use of it. (Comp. Becker, *Handb.* I. p. 410.) Now this seeming objection will perhaps lead us a step further in refuting the whole story, and fully tracing the origin of it.

Why this spot was so carefully secreted from all approach or profanation, it is perhaps impossible to ascertain. But if a conjecture be allowed, I think it is not unlikely that this was one of the holy places connected with the old Sabine worship, which were partly suppressed or removed by Tarquin, to make room for Etruscan sanctuaries. (Liv. I. 55.) We hear of some strange old gods, unknown in later times, and quite unconnected with the prevailing religion. Such deities, whose meaning and attributes were subjects of antiquarian discussion, were Angerona, Ops, and others. It is, I think, not improbable that the mysterious wall, *inter duos lucos*, included one of those Sabine sanctuaries, which, like those of Terminus and Juventus, would not give way to Tarquin. Perhaps the doubtful deity, whose name was identical with the secret name of Rome, and who presided over the fate of the city, had here its altar in the Sabine citadel. But, whatever may have been the real meaning of the wall round this spot, so much was clear to every observer, that this place ought not to be entered or violated. The appellation ἄσυλον, which might easily have been given to

it by some Greek, might, in connection with the misunderstood *jus exsulandi*, easily occasion the whole legend of the Asylum, which now appears entirely void of every historical value. The use, therefore, which has been made of it by writers on Roman history, is unwarrantable, and must necessarily lead to confusion.

W. Ihne.

XV.

BECKERI TOPOGRAPHIA URBIS ROMAE.

De Romae Veteris Muris atque Portis, scripsit Guilielmus Adolphus Becker, Prof. Lips. Lipsiae, 1842, 8vo.
Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer, nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Wilhelm Adolph Becker, Prof. an der Univ. Leipzig. Erster Theil. Leipzig, 1843, 8vo.
Die Römische Topographie in Rom, eine Warnung von Wilhelm Adolph Becker. Leipzig, 1844, 8vo.

TOPOGRAPHIAM Urbis Romae quum laudabili studio Itali coluissent, multis illi quidem et insignibus adminiculis usi, locorum cognitione, inscriptionibus et aedificiis passim repertis; inter Germanos autem Bunsenius praesertim ad eorum diligentiam artem criticam, septentrionalium populorum propriam, atque laetissimos historiae et philologiae fructus contulisset: exstitit repente homo non indoctus et inter Anglos quoque notus, Beckerus Lipsiensis, qui caruisse adhuc topographiam severa doctrina, fide, judicio, quaeque antea leviter et indocte essent peccata, a se emendata confidenter clamaret. De cujus labore quid in universum sentiendum videretur, libello Germanice scripto[1] ita significavi, ut plurima refellerem, alia praetermitterem, pauca ulteriori examini servarem. Lubet quaedam, quae aut omiserim aut minus expediverim, retractare: atque utar iis tantum locis, quibus supra Bunsenium sapere sibi visus est Beckerus.

Atque primum de *portis Servii Tullii* in universum quidem cum Bunsenio consensit, nonnullas tamen easque certissimas e portarum numero tollere conatus est. Quod quam temere factum sit, uno exemplo ostendam. *Portam Triumphalem* Itali recentiores Donati sententiam amplexi inter Capitolium ac Tiberim collocarunt atque in brevissimo spatio non minus tres portas, Carmentalem, Triumphalem, Flumentanam fuisse sibi

[1] *Römische Topographie in Leipzig. Ein Anhang zur Beschreibung der Stadt Rom von L. Urlichs.* Stuttgard und Tübingen, 1845, 8vo.

persuaserunt. Moleste id habuit Bunsenium. Qui quum eam distributionem cum prudentissimi regis munimentis minime conciliari posse perspexisset et Niebuhrium secutus de hoc murorum tractu dubitasset: Triumphalem portam in ipso Circi maximi limine sitam esse statuit, et quae praeterea inter antiquas a Plinio (*N. H.* III. 5. 9) numerantur, duodecim portas ab utroque ejus latere carceribus Circi ingressum praebuisse aedificii splendori et in triumphis dignitati congruum. Utrumque negavit Beckerus (*Handb.* pp. 145, 180), eo audaciae progressus, ut duodecim carceres ante Domitianum non exstitisse, XII. portas, quae in XI. regione prope Circum etiam in regionum indice qui *Notitiae Dignitatum* praemitti solet, collocantur, arcus aquae Appiae ad portam Capenam fuisse affirmaret, portam autem triumphalem numquam fuisse portam, sed arcum quendam in Campo Martio arbitraretur, per quem Circum Flaminium ingressi essent imperatores. Atqui, ut reliquos taceam, a Cicerone (*in Pis.* cap. 23), disertis verbis inter Urbis aditus nominatur. *Quum ego eum Caelimontana porta introisse dixissem, sponsione me, ni Esquilina introisset, homo promptus lacessivit: quasi vero id aut ego scire debuerim, aut vestrum quispiam audierit, aut ad rem pertineat, qua tu porta introieris, modo ne triumphali: quae porta Macedonicis semper proconsulibus ante te patuit.* Ita videtur: verum Beckerus callide hunc locum expedisse sibi visus est. "Paullo aliter res haberet, si vel Cicero dixisset introisse (quod fieri non potuit), vel Piso negasset se ea porta urbem intrasse, sed Esquilina. Nunc autem quum Cicero errore dixisset introisse eum Caelimontana, Piso autem scurriliter sponsione eum provocasset, ni Esquilina: quasi vero, inquit, ad rem id pertineat: modo ne triumphali; quo tota infringitur et immutatur verbi introeundi vis . . . . Hic igitur transeundi per portam notio ex introeundi verbo supplenda est. Verum haec vulgaria; zeugma vocant Grammatici." (*De Rom. Vet. Mur. atq. Port.* p. 93, cf. *Handb.* p. 154.) Belle dictum: audio. Scilicet unum verbum duabus aptatur sententiis. Quid vero, si tibi locum attulero, ubi non est nisi una sententia, num hic quoque transeundi notio ex introeundi verbo supplenda est? Talis vero locus legitur apud eundem Ciceronem in *Epistolis ad Atticum*, lib. VII. 7, ubi triumphi spem abjiciens ita loquitur Cicero: *Itaque, si hoc imperium mihi molestum erit, utar ea porta quam primam videro.* Piget plura proferre: *ad Aureliani muros* transeam.

Hic quoque quem ubique cavillatur Bunsenium secutus est fere Beckerus, et recte quidem: nam ubi ab eo dissensit, plerumque in errores satis graves incidit. Et primum quidem, quum p. 193 quatuordecim portas *Anonymi Einsidlensis* ab iis quas commemoravit Procopius (*Bell. Goth.* I. 19, p. 93), eo differre statuit, quod *Pinciana* apud hunc inter πυλίδας, apud illum inter majores portas numeretur; lapsus est egregie. Nam neque nunquam, quemadmodum voluerat antea (*De Rom. Vet. Mur. atq. Port.* p. 115), neque quod in Germanico libro largitus est, semel (*Handb.* p. 193, ann. 292), sed quinquies πύλαι sive πύλη appellata est a Procopio (*Bell. Goth.* I. 29, p. 140; II. 1, p. 149; II. 5, p. 165; ib. p. 166; ib. cap. 10, p. 186); πυλὶς vero octies (I. 19, p. 96; ubi tamen paullo post, v. 6, non πυλίδος sed πύλης supplendum est; ib. c. 23, p. 109; 28, p. 131; II. 2, p. 150, ubi tamen verba ταύτης τῆς πύλης et καὶ ταύτης ἐντὸς τῆς πυλίδος prorsus conveniunt; ib. c. 9, p. 181, 182, 6 et 21). Vides quantillum intersit discriminis. Pincianam non appellari Belisariam a Procopio (I. 18, p. 89; 22, p. 106) recte quidem vidit Beckerus (p. 198, an. 303). Vellem tamen non me una cum Nibbijo commemorasset, quippe qui nunquam ita putaverim et apud Procopium cum Beckero pro Βελισαρία scribendum censeam Σαλαρία.

Porta Aurelia pontem Aelium et aditum ad monumentum Hadriani munitum esse recte quidem, sicut Bunsenius, statuit Beckerus (p. 195, sqq.); verum maximas de Procopii narratione turbas movit easque prorsus inutiles. Conjuncta enim fuit porta cum Hadriani munimentis quae per ipsum pontem ad ripam dextram pertinebant. Quo vero Procopii exemplo usus, ut Bunsenium erroris argueret, non bis sed ad minimum sexies portae nomen apud eum scriptorem inveniri dixerit, nescio: in Bonnensi certe, cujus paginas ipse affert Beckerus, ter omnino ejus video mentionem fieri (I. 19, p. 94; ib. 22, p. 106; 28, p. 131).

Difficillima est quaestio de iis portis, quae post Castra Praetoria orientem versus enumerantur, e quibus quatuor viae exierunt: Tiburtina, Collatina, Praenestina, et Labicana. Eas Pialium et aliquatenus Fabrettium secutus Niebuhrius ita disposuit, ut portam clausam prope castra pro antiqua Tiburtina, eam quae a S. Laurentio appellatur, pro Praenestina, Majorem quae dicitur pro Labicana haberet, et a via Praenestina Collatinam deflexisse arbitraretur, prima vero, fortasse propter stratam

novam viam Tiburtinam, ad castra clausa ante Anonymi Einsidlensis aetatem nomina Tiburtinae ad S. Laurentii, Praenestinae ad Majorem portam translata esse, quae in Mirabilibus Urbis Labicana vocatur. Eum secutus est Bunsenius. Beckerus autem ad priorem sententiam rediit, e qua porta S. Laurentii semper fuisse Tiburtina, Major semper Praenestina putabatur, atque argumenta a Niebuhrio allata evertere conatus est. Niebuhrius portam clausam ex adverso antiquae Viminali aggeris Tulliani portae positam ad eandem viam necessario pertinere opinatus est, quae e Viminali exierit. Quaenam ergo ea fuit? Tiburtina secundum Niebuhrium, nulla e Beckeri sententia. Itane vero? Tam imprudenter igitur Servius locum servatu difficilem communivisse putandus est, ut medio in aggere portam inutilem aperiret? Strabo quidem aliter sensisse videtur (v. 3, p. 237). *Εἶτα συμπίπτει (τῇ Λατίνῃ) καὶ ἡ Λαβικανὴ, ἀρχομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐσκυλίνης πύλης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Πραινεστίνη ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ἀφεῖσα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἐσκύλινον πρόεισιν, κ.τ.λ.* Duas igitur vias e porta Esquilina exiisse tradidit diligentissimus auctor; tertiam, ei fuisset Tiburtina, non omisisset: ergo haec ad aliam aggeris portam pertinet quae quoniam Collina nimis remota erat, non potest non fuisse Viminalis. Quid Beckerus? Strabonis silentium nihili faciendum et Ovidii loco (*Fast.* VI. 677) rem confectam esse contendit. Sane tibicinum temulentam turbam Romam Tibure delatam esse narravit poeta:

Jamque per Esquilias Romanam intraverat Urbem,
Et mane in medio plaustra fuere foro.

Et videntur omnino porta Esquilina Urbem intrasse, etsi possent quidem Viminali ingressi Urbem per Esquilias forum petivisse. At vero num inde consequitur, via Tiburtina eos ad Esquilinam portam venisse? Minime gentium. Belisarius quum e Campania Romam peteret, usus quidem est via Latina, neque tamen porta Latina Urbem intravit, sed Asinaria, ad quam a via Latina deflexisse putandus est. (Cf. Procop. I. 14, p. 75.) Eodem modo tibicines deverticulo quodam a via Tiburtina ad portam Esquilinam ductos esse, neque Ovidium tam inepte verbosum fuisse arbitror, ut viam usitatam et notissimam accurate describeret. Manet igitur Strabonis loco ea vis quam tribuerat ei Niebuhrius. Eodem porro docemur viam Labicanam a sinistra habuisse et viam Praenestinam et campum Esquilinum: eam vero Constantini certe temporibus porta Majore

exisse mausoleo Helenae comprobatur quod via Lavicana miliario tertio exstructum esse tradidit Anastasius (§ 44, ed. Blanch.), eo ipso loco, quo lapis miliarii tertii repertus est. (Cf. Nibby, *Analisi della Carta de' Dintorni di Roma*, vol. III. p. 245.) Oportet igitur Praenestinam ad portam S. Laurentii pertinuisse. Quod enim Beckerus excogitavit (p. 203), Strabonis aetate viam Labicanam versus Aedem S. Crucis fuisse, id quam sit veri simile, viderint alii. Praeterea Niebuhrius adhibuit eundem locum Anastasii, ubi Constantinus basilicae SS. Petri et Marcellini dono dedisse dicitur omnem agrum inter portam Sessorianam, *i.e.* Majorem, et viam Praenestinam. Quod quum aperte contra rem suam faceret, Beckerus acriter invectus est in Bunsenium (*De Rom. Vet. Mur. atq. Port.* p. 122; Cf. *Handb.* p. 203), qui quae Niebuhrius Pialio confisus schedis suis mandasset, absque ullo examine typis excudenda curaverit. At vero quae a Niebuhrio acceperat Bunsenius, ea omnia in usum descriptionis Urbis Romae conscripta erant et sunt summo viro dignissima. Quae autem contra eum de codicibus Anastasii a Beckero disputantur, ea quanti habenda sint, jam videbimus. Nam, inquit ille, apud Anastasium in Vita Silvestri (tom. I. p. 49, Blanch.) ita legitur: "*Omnem agrum a porta Foforritana via itineraria usque ad viam Latinam ad montem Albium.* Tres sunt levioris notae codices Parisienses (notante Fabrottio), Regius, Mazarinus, et Thuaneus unus, conspirantes ubique, ut unum potius sed trigeminum codicem dixerim, in quibus est: *omnes agros a porta Sessoriana usque ad viam Praenestinam et usque ad viam Latinam et usque ad montem Gabum.* Idem Fabrottius in cod. Freheri ita scriptum invenit: *porta Sensuriana usque ad viam Praenestinam, a via Latina ad montem Gabium.* Præter haec ex vetustissimis Italorum exemplaribus nihil ab Holstenio et Schelestratio varietatis notatum reperies; neque in codice Velseri de Praenestina quidquam. Caeterum ne portae quidem nomen certum est, quamquam in codice Velseri quoque est *Sessoriana*, in Thuan. II. *Sororiana.* Ad viam Latinam vero attinere donationem argumento est ipsum montis nomen, qui modo scribitur *Albius*, modo *Gabus* vel *Gavus*, vel *Galbius*, vel denique *Gabius.* Enimvero dubitari vix potest, quin intelligendus sit *mons Albanus*, qui nunc dicitur *Cavus* (Monte Cavo); atque huic vicina via Latina; remotissima Praenestina." Ita Beckerus. Primum igitur in eo impudenter, ne quid gravius dicam, erravit, quod in codice Velseri scriptum esse ait *Sesso-*

riana. Sic enim exemplum Moguntinum a. 1602, quod *ex bibliotheca Marci Velseri* prodiit: *omnem agrum a porta Foforritana via itineraria usque ad viam Latinam, ad montem Albium.* Vides prorsus eadem ibi legi quae e Blanchinii libro attulit Beckerus. Idque non est cur mireris. Scilicet iste codex Velseri non fuit codex, verum sic ut in praefatione typographus Moguntinus loquitur, " e locupleti (Velseri) bibliotheca exemplar hujus autoris unum è codice Vaticano descriptum, et cum binis MSS. cod. collatum." Ad marginem annotatur (p. 14) e binis hisce codd. scripturae diversitas: *omnes agros a porta Sessoriana;* tum, *et usque ad montem Galbium.* Atque illa est vulgata scriptura quam in eodem codice Holstenius invenisse putandus est, Blanchinius recepit, Beckerus contra Niebuhrium defendit. Rectissime vero editor Moguntinus judicavit, mendis scatere codices illos ac sperat non " defuturos alios, qui abundantes otio, et exemplarium emendatiorum copia, accuratiore studio omnes hujus auctoris corruptelas et lacunas sint suppleturi." Neque haec spes eum fefellit. Fabrottus enim quum Anastasii historiam ecclesiasticam et librum pontificalem Parisiis ederet, iterum Venetiis a. 1729 excusum typis, ad hunc nostrum librum adhibuit *duos* codices, Regium et Mazarinum, saeculi ut verisimile est xv., qui quum in paucis differant, videntur ab eodem exemplari manasse. " Contulit etiam cum codice Thuaneo, antiquissimo illo quidem, sed scribae librarii inscitia in multis haud satis emendato" (Praef. et p. 165, Venet.); praeterea usus est *duobus* codicibus Marquardi Freheri, utroque sane pervetusto (p. 127, ed. Venet.). Deinde post Blanchinium qui ad emendandum scriptorem misere corruptum nihil fere contulit, nisi quod e Cavensi codice recentiore scripturae diversitatem addidit, tres libros Ambrosianos contulit Saxius quorum varias lectiones Muratorius volumini tertio *Scriptorum RR. Ital.* inseruit. Inter quos eminet cod. A. saeculi viii. (Cf. *Murat.* vol. iii. praef. p. 7.) Multo plures innotuerunt Pertzii ejusque amicorum industria, tres Viennenses (*Archiv für Deutsche Geschichte,* iii. pp. 508. 668. 671), quorum antiquissimus cum cod. A. Muratorii ubique fere conspirat, Barberinus (iv. p. 480), Neapolitanus Barbonicus, saeculi vii. (ib. p. 501), et Brancanianus (v. 68 sqq.) Darmstadiensis saec. viii. vel ix., cum cod. A. comparandus (vi. p. 423) Regius Parisiensis saeculi ix. (viii. p. 291). Alios praeterea quam plurimos afferrem, ei editio Vignolii mihi ad manus

esset: satis me laudasse arbitror, ut stolidam Beckeri confidentiam ostenderem. Tam vero praeclare docuit Pertzius (V. p 68, sqq.) tres easque diversissimas horum codicum familias esse distinguendas: eam ad quam pertinent edit. princeps et cod. D. Murat. Cavensis; deinde cod. B. et C. Murat., atque postremum cod. A. Emendabitur Anastasius a Roestellio viro clarissimo. Nostrum jam erit, varietatem eorum codicum qui adhuc collati sunt proponere, in quo opere doleo Vignolii libro mihi carendum esse.

Codices primae familiae, Vaticanus, Florentinus S. Marci, D. Murat. qui omnium maxime corruperunt nomina propria, eam scripturam exhibet qua unice delectatus est Beckerus. Sic etiam, ut videtur cod. A. Freheri. Quae nihili sunt. Neque enim fuit umquam porta Foforritana, neque una via itineraria, quum omnes essent itinerariae, neque mons Albius. Quod nomen ipsi illi codices corruptum esse eo clamant, quod cod. D. suprascriptum habet *Gavum,* omnes autem ita pergunt. *Ipse mons Gabius,* etc. Hunc Beckerus Albanum sive *Cavum* fuisse existimat: at vero ante annum 1249, nusquam eo nomine appellatur. (Cf. Nibby, *Analisi,* tom. I. pp. 75. 110.) Itaque apud Anastasium mons Gabius non est Albanus seu Cavus, sed ad urbem Gabios pertinet, aqua in eadem Vita Silvestri (§ 37) dicta est *Massa Gaba in territorio Gabinensi.*

Aliquanto rectius *secunda familia.* Cod. A. Murat. *a porta Sossorianea via etinerarium usque ad via viam Latinam ad montem Gabum, ipsum montem Gabum,* &c. Vaticani duo collati cum exemplo Velseri *omnes agros a porta Sessoriana . . . . et usque ad montem Galbium.* Thuaneus apud Fabrottum *ad portam Sororianam viam. M. Gabum ipsum montem Gabum.* Scilicet hic jam emergunt duo nomina proba et cognita: porta Sessoriana seu Major et mons Gabus ad Gabios. Via etiamnum obscura relinquitur, sed elucet aliquid e cod. A. *etinerarium* enim e *penestrinā* facile fieri potuisse quicunque codices antiquioris aevi noverit, sponte concedet. Deesse aliquid ante *via* fine indicatur vocabuli proximi.

Optime igitur *tertiae familiae* codices. Freher. B. *porta Sensuriana usque ad viam Praenestinam, a via Latina ad montem Gabium.* Cui accedit scriptura codd. B. Murat., Reg., Maz. a Beckero superbe rejecta.

Jam aliquando nacti sumus viae nomen quo efficitur ut cum Niebuhrio portam Sessorianam, *i.e.* Majorem, a via Praenestina

diversam esse, itaque non esse Praenestinam persuasum habeamus. Atque haec fere sunt quae in portis Beckerus emendasse sibi visus est.

In ipsius autem Urbis descriptione pariter infelix fere omnia quae corrigere sibi videbatur, insigniter corrupit. Exemplo erunt quae de Lautumiis (pp. 262, sqq.) disputavit. Carcerem Lautumiarum apud Livium (XXXII. 26) a carcere Mamertino qui vocatur diversum et pone Faustinae templum situm fuisse statuit idque demonstrari duobus locis (Liv. XXXVII. 3, et M. Senec. *Controv.* IV. 27, p. 300, Bip.). Scilicet Livius a. 562, Aetolos captivos in Lautumias conjectos esse narravit: nisi igitur aliunde qualis carcer esset, compertum haberemus, fateremur quidem, eo loco in neutram partem effici quidquam. Jam vero bis ipse Livius eorum captivorum mentionem fecit (XXXVII. 46, et XXXVIII. 60). Damocritus aufugit e *carcere*, haud dubie e publico ac notissimo carcere. L. Scipio a. 565, quum in eo esset, ut in carcerem conjiceretur, clamavit Ti. Gracchus, se non passurum *inter hostes populi Romani* in carcere et in vinculis esse (XXXIX. 58); inter *latrones in robore*, unde *nudus* ante carcerem projiceretur, sc. in scalas Gemonias. Altero igitur loco nulla inter carcerem Mamertinum et Lautumias est differentia. Neque inest alteri loco, ubi M. Seneca, ut Julii Sabini animum etiam in miseriis ad jocandum pronum describeret, *Cum*, inquit, *introductus esset ex carcere in senatum—rogavit ut in Lautumias transferretur*. Fateor me quoque, etsi Beckeri sententiam falsam esse, et Lautumiis carcerem Mamertinum significari perspexissem, vocabulo carceris esse commotum, ut de aliis carceribus publicis cogitarem. (P. 15, sq.) Pudet me aliquid Beckero tribuisse. Scilicet non fuit carcer publicus, in quo Sabinus inedia premebatur, sed privatus sive militaris, unde ut in publicum transferretur, flebili oratione rogavit. Notum est, nobiliores captivos et indemnatos privatim a magistratibus et senatoribus custoditos et interdum asperrime habitos esse. (Lips. *ad Tac. Ann.* VI. 3, et *Exc.* B. ad l. III. Geib, *Geschichte des römischen Criminalprocesses*, p. 118.) Pari igitur ciborum egestate, qua Asinius Gallus (Dio Cass. LVIII. 3; Tac. *Ann.* VI. 23), Drusus (Tac. *ib.*), et postea Narcissus (Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 3) in carceribus privatis oppressi sunt, Julius Sabinus se premi sentiens id ut sibi contingeret expetivit quae aliis severior poena videbatur, ut in publicum carcerem transferretur ibique inter homines maleficos sceleratosque aleretur.

Eadem ratio est ejus loci Liviani (XXXII. 26), ubi obsides Carthaginiensium privata custodia, publica captivi servantur. Quod igitur Romae vigiliae per vicos servatae, jussique circumire eas minores magistratus, id ad obsides pertinet, ad captivos quae sequuntur: et triumviri *carceris Lautumiarum* i.e. publici carceris, intentiorem custodiam habere jussi. De quo discrimine si quis dubitaret, doceretur iis quae addidit Livius: et circa nomen Latinum a praetore litterae missae, ut et *obsides* in *privato* servarentur, neque in publicum prodeundi facultas daretur; et *captivi* ne minus decem pondo compedibus vincti in nulla alia, quam in *carceris publici custodia* essent.

Ut etiam de Transtiberina regione aliquid dicam, verbo tangam quae de *circo Neronis* ad mausoleum Hadriani disputavit Beckerus. (P. 671, sqq.) Scilicet ille dubitat de circo, quem commemorarunt veteres, invenerunt recentiores, Procopius (*B. Goth.* II. 1) ita descripsit, ut quasi oculis eum adspiciamus. Quum enim Gothorum castra in regione habitationibus plena prope basilicam S. Petri collocata essent, circus ille, unde Romanorum equites in hostes impetum fecerunt eosque fusos fugatosque versus castra persecuti sunt, profecto non sub ipsis castris, sed procul ab iis, pone monumentum Hadriani, situs fuisse putandus est. Haec quum ita sint, de Beckero sic sentio, eum neque praestitisse quae voluit, neque recte de viris doctis judicasse, quorum labore effectum est, ut librum non inutilem scribere potuerit.

L. URLICHS.

XVI.

MISCELLANIES.

Attempt at a Translation of Greek Chorics.

[This attempt is intended to imitate, as nearly as possible, the responsive character of the Greek Chorus, as well as the irregularities of its metre, without deviating materially from literal translation.]

Œdipus Coloneus, 667, &c. Chorus III. Εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾶσδε χώρας κ. τ. λ.

Strophe A.

Stranger, thy weary feet have strayed
To the fairest spot of our happy plains,
To bright Colonus' glowing mead,
O'er which war-steeds champ the burning reins;
Where far within each sunny glade,
The frequent nightingale
Pours forth her plaintive wail,
Deep in the flowering thicket's gloom embowered;
Nestling beneath the ivy's sombre leaf,
Or the fruit-laden tree,
That none may venture nigh,
Nor ever mortal eye
Rest on the plant that shades the Deity.
There never sunbeams fall,
Or stormy breezes blow,
To parch the rising bud,
Or lay its honours low;
There joyous Bacchus proudly treads,
Amidst the glorious mountain maids,
Who nursed, with ever-anxious care, his helpless infancy.

Antistrophe A.

Light falls the heaven-springing dew
On the narcissus with its clusters fair,
Whose graceful flowers wreathe
The ancient garland for the yellow hair

Of the twain goddesses, and strew
Their temples—far away,
See where a golden ray
Shoots from the burnished crocus underneath
The sleepless founts, whose ceaseless flow
Fill bright Cephissus' stream—
Adown the teeming vale,
Where Plenty bids him hail,
His waters sparkle in the sunny beam—
Nor do the happy choirs,
The ever-tuneful Nine,
Disdain to raise the song
Within the woodland shrine;
And Venus, with her gilded rein,
Glides lightly o'er the sacred plain,
And bathes her snowy doves in each pellucid stream.

STROPHE B.

But raise a higher strain to sing
The glory of our native land,
The plant that never deigned to spring
On glowing Asia's golden strand,
Nor in the mighty Dorian isle,
Old Pelops' boasted kingdom, ever cast its smile—
Unplanted by man,
Yet ever abounding,
With peace-giving bough,
Hostile armies confounding—
Filling the wildest grove with sweet perfume,
The sacred olive's everlasting bloom—
Whose infant-shielding foliage green
Nor fiery youth nor time-worn chief
Shall dare to pluck in scorn, I ween,
For the all-seeing eye of Morian Jove
Looks down to guard it from above,
And azure-eyed Athenè loves the tender leaf—

ANTISTROPHE B.

Yet strike the sounding string once more,
A higher glory still remains,
Long hath this state in triumph wore
The double palm—and double strains
Should greet the victor in the race,
And conqueror on the sea, and double garlands grace—

O! son of old Saturn!
'Tis thou that hast given,
Great Ruler of Ocean,
This boon—we had striven
In vain, hadst not thou, with thy steed-taming rein,
Driven thy coursers o'er our natal plain—
See, the light bounding sea-dipt oar
Skims the smooth marble of the deep,
Plashing amidst its waters hoar,
Whilst round its track, by gulf and bay,
The hundred-footed Nereids play,
And joyous time to their unearthly music keep.

J. Eccleston.

Sutton Coldfield.

Remarks on a Passage in Niebuhr's Lectures.

In the second volume of Niebuhr's *Lectures on Roman History* (by Dr. L. Schmitz p. 98), the following words are given as delivered in his Lecture: "The nearest relative of Cæsar was Antony, whose mother, Julia, was a sister of the deceased." The most obvious explanation that offers itself of the mistake here committed, is, that the youthful student who reported the lecture has misunderstood what was said. Yet the marks of faithfulness in the volume are too strong to allow us to adopt such a hypothesis without urgent cause. Another mode of accounting for the phenomenon may not be without interest.

In the *Scholia Bobiensia*, edited by Angelo Mai, upon the oration of Cicero in Vatinium (ch. 12, annot. 2), the commentator writes: "Quippe Antonius, qui postea triumvir fuit, matre Juliâ censebatur, *C. Cæsaris sorore.*"

Mai has added to this his own remark: "En cur Antonius ob occisum Cæsarem tantas tragœdias fecerit."

As it cannot be doubted that Mai intended to say that the new scholiast has revealed to us what was before unknown, it is not too much to suppose that Niebuhr, like Mai, was carried away by the authority of this unknown writer, and forgot the far more decisive testimony of Cicero himself (*in Catil.* iv. ch. 6, § 13), which justifies the common statement that Julia, the mother of Antony, was sister to *Lucius*, not to *Caius* Cæsar. Had it been otherwise, Antony would surely have been preferred by Caius Cæsar to young Octavius.

F. W. N.

On the Methods of Stating the Date of an Historical Event.

It seems to me exceedingly absurd and inconvenient, that the events of history should be reckoned on two opposite principles, and that without any reason for fixing on the point at which one of those principles is changed into the other. I say without any reason at all; for the only class or portion of history, with a view to which the fixing on that point might have been convenient, viz. Ecclesiastical History, is actually injured by it, owing to the vulgar æra of Christ's birth being erroneous. For any other purpose, how inconvenient it is! If the change had taken place at any time that might have been considered a division between ancient and modern history, there would have been somewhat less inconvenience in it. We should have used the one reckoning in one part of our studies of history, and the other in the other. But the change comes in the midst of a most important and frequently considered period. Part of the events of Augustus's reign are reckoned backward and part forward. "Tiberius retires to Rhodes in the year 6"—"Returns to Rome in the year 2." It is like the sudden change that Dante mentions in the centre of the earth, when part of the figure of Satan seemed suddenly to be inverted, and his feet to be where his head was. It is the more inconvenient because (unavoidably no doubt) there are two *years* "*one*," in contact with one another.

Rational chronologers complain of the number of æras which were adopted, and the (unnecessary, as some of them think) trouble of setting them all out in their tables. But at least they all are consistent—they run the same way; whereas they cut this knot by using a reckoning which goes against all the others, and introduces a constant contradiction whenever we have to resolve it into any one of them. *Rapido contrarius evehor orbi.* It must be so; no real contemporaneous way of reckoning ever can be backwards, from a future and therefore unknown point.

The Olympiads are always troublesome and puzzling to reckon, especially as the number of the Olympiads is the number of the first year, so that though four years make an Olympiad, we are at the twenty-fifth Olympiad before we are at the hundreth year. But it is much more oppressive to have to couple this difficulty with the retrograde reckoning B.C. As to common sense, and the natural and invincible impression we have of the order of events, it is constantly at variance with them, and consequently we cannot but be always forgetting, that a town is to be taken under a smaller figure than it was besieged; that a man is to die (as it were) younger than he was born.

The Julian Period may be used to mend this, but it is too cumbersome, and quite unmeaning. The A.M. is too high a number too, and worse than unmeaning, delusive; since the age of the world is quite unknown, and was reckoned different ways in different periods, or in different editions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Besides, we cannot possibly alter the modern reckoning A.D., and must build our reckoning before the Christian æra on the reckoning after it, so as to connect with the present time. But what more easy than to establish a Millennium before Christ, and reckon forwards in it; the last year of it, 1000, would be what is now 1 B.C.: then 1 A.D. would follow in natural course; and earlier events might be reckoned in another Millennium in the same way, but in profane history this would be seldom wanted.

All difficulties in chronology, or any other science, that are not necessary, are material evils. They disgust mere learners, or those who have no great inclination or time for the pursuit, from making any progress in it: and to more complete scholars, though they are got over, they are got over by a constant waste of trouble, which would be better employed by such minds in adding to their more useful labours.

I cannot but wish that the constantly puzzling practice of speaking of *the fifteenth century*, *the sixteenth century*, meaning 14... and 15..., were left off; and that we might say, as the Italians do, *the* fourteen hundred, *the* fifteen hundred, &c. The article, with them, distinguishes this expression from what is meant to denote the single year; that is "1400" alone; or "the year 1400." The contradiction which follows from our manner of describing the century, greatly prevents our having clear single images, as it were, of dates in our memory, and must often be the cause of positive mistakes and confusion. We should still want to speak of the "first" or "second" century, and particularly in Church History: so, "the three" or "four first centuries" is of course an unobjectionable, and necessary expression on occasion.

C. B.

On a Passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.

In Col. iii. 5 we find, "Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν, κ. τ. λ.:" which in the Latin Vulgate is rendered, "Mortificate igitur membra vestra, quæ sunt super terram, fornicationem, &c.;" and in the English Vulgate, "Mortify therefore your members, which are upon the earth, fornication, &c."

In either case I conceive that these translations suggest the idea, howbeit with an obscure sense, that "quæ sunt super terram" refers to "membra," and that the words which follow are in apposition.

In Pole's *Synopsis* the passage is explained as follows: "*Membra vestra* (*i.e.* vitiosos vestros affectus) quos membra vocat respectu *veteris hominis* qui corpus vocatur. (*Rom.* VI. 6, and *Sup.* II. 11.) Ne intelligantur corporis humani membra addidit τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ubi subintelligi debet ex præcedentibus τὰ φρονοῦντα.

Now v. 2 is τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε μὴ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Whence I infer, that τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς is truly explained by the words which follow it, πορνείαν. κ. τ. λ. Again, τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν occurs Rom. VI. 13, in reference to θνήτον σῶμα, and are there described as either capable of being ὅπλα ἀδικίας or ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης; so that if we take νεκρώσατε to govern two accusatives, which, indeed, seems the regular construction in this place, the sense is without ambiguity, and the proper meaning of each part of the sentence is preserved. Thus, "Mortify therefore your members (with regard to) base affections," viz. fornication, &c.

G. and C. C.

Remarks on the Origin of Tenses.

In speculating on etymology, a difficulty is frequently encountered when we endeavour to mount up to the origin of certain elements. Those who allege that *amavi* is derived from *ama* and *fui*, or τύψομαι from τυπ and ἔσομαι, are exposed to the objection that the words *fui* and ἔσομαι need themselves to be accounted for. At least, a vague feeling of dissatisfaction is on this ground often felt. At present it is proposed to adduce a few facts from a modern language, which seem to relieve the general difficulty, without entering into any special discussion about *fuvi*, the alleged earlier form of *fui*.

That which is called the *past* tense in Arabic by no means specifically expresses *historical* time. *Katab* (for instance) means rather "he has written," than "he wrote;" and, in some connections, would even have a present meaning. Yet the verb *Kàn*, which, judged of by the form, is in the very same tense, always has the historical notion, meaning, "he was," not "he has been," or "he is." In consequence, in order to give to another verb historical time, they prefix *Kàn* to the present; as, *Yarùhh*, he goes; *Kàn yarùhh*(=fuit it), he went: and to form the pluperfect, *Rahh*, he has gone, *Kàn ràhh* (= fuit ivit), he had gone. This is exactly analogous in principle to saying, *Ama fui*, I loved; for *Kàn* and *fui* are alike destitute of any thing in form which should fix them to historical time.

But, again, there is a second verb, *Sàr* or *Ssàr*, which primitively meant "factus est," but practically passes off into the sense of "est." Thus, in the very same tense, viewed grammatically, the two verbs, *Sàr* and *Kàn*, express two different times, Present and Past; and may be without violence compared to Est and Fuit, if we are disposed to admit that the form of Fuit is that of the Present Tense.

In the Arabic of Bagdad, the verb *Kàn* largely enters the composition of other verbs as an auxiliary, so as to throw some light on the composition of Amav-ero, Amav-erim, Fu-ero, Fu-erim. For its tense, *Yakùn*, which is called the Aorist or Present, and in other verbs denotes either present or future time, in this verb is specifically future, "erit;" hence it serves to fix a future idea definitely on other verbs. Thus: *Yarùhh*, he goes, or will go; *Yakùn yarùhh*, he will (hereafter) go; *Kàn yakùn yarùhh*, he was to have gone (literally, "Fuit erit it"); *Yakùn ràhh*, he will have gone (literally, "Erit ivit").

The special futurity inherent in *Yakùn* may perhaps be compared to ἔσομαι and Ero, each of which is present in form, but future in sense. The crude form being ἐς and *er*, it will hardly be alleged that either -ομαι or -ο had any force essentially determining the sense to future time. It is true that in ἔδομαι, φάγομαι, πίομαι, the termination -ομαι may be thought to denote futurity; but the more legitimate conclusion seems to be, that there was a time when it was not yet settled what ομαι should mean. It tried to be future, and succeeded in a few verbs. It tried to be passive and middle, and sometimes was neither, but "deponent."

That forms were invented first, and their final sense affixed to them only afterwards, seems to be proved in various instances. Thus the reduplication, if we judge of it by Hebrew analogies, originally expressed something *frequentative* or *energetic* in the verb. If this cannot be proved in Greek, it is at least highly probable that κέκλυθι, τέτλαθι, κέκλομαι, μίμνω, originally had a more emphatic sense than κλῦθι, τλῆθι, κέλομαι, μένω. Be this as it may, we know that in the aorists κέκαμον κέκαδον the reduplication had as legitimate a place once, as afterwards in the Paulo Post Futurum and in the Perfects; and it cannot be denied, that the final tendency has been that which we see in the Latin language, to associate the reduplication with the idea of Past Time, with which it evidently had once nothing to do. This may well reconcile us to the belief that -ομαι in ἔσομαι, ἔδομαι, and -ομαι in τύπτομαι, are the same termination, though, by accident, differently understood.

It may be of interest to know the different method used at Aleppo to express certain tenses. The future is there formed by the substantive *Bed* (which, whatever it once meant, now means Want or Will),

with the possessive pronouns of different persons,—prefixed to the aorist. Thus we get:

Beddi arùhh	— my will I go	= ibo
Beddak tarùhh	— thy will thou go	= ibis
Beddo yarùhh	— his will he go	= ibit, &c.

Then, by prefixing *Kàn*, he was, but varied in all the persons, they produce a Future Past.

Kunt beddi arùhh	—	fui iturus
Kunt beddak tarùhh	—	fuisti iturus
Kàn beddo yarùhh	—	fuit iturus, &c.

Complications so cumbrous lose, by frequent repetition, the absurdity which on first hearing they seem to have; and, by force of analogy, remove all *à priori* difficulty out of the way of saying *Ama fui ero*, and afterwards corrupting the combination into *Amavero*. On the question, whether Fui does actually enter into Amavi, no opinion is here expressed.

The forms Ero and τύψω suggest that ἔσω, as well as ἔσομαι, once conveyed a future idea in Greek: and this leads to a new question, whether the distinction of εἰμὶ and ἔσομαι, of Sum and Ero, was originally one of *tense*. Ero, from the crude form er (= ἐς), is evidently formed like Rego; εἰμὶ and Sum are formed after verbs in -μι. The most natural inference is, that a double formation first arose dialectually, without any aim; and that in this one verb a distinction of time was accidentally annexed, just at οἴχομαι is Past, and ἔρχομαι Present or Future.

There is much reason to believe that no simple tense originally carried an idea of time with it at all. Rego might have been future, as Ero; and Regam past, as Eram; only the wear and tear of the language settled the meaning.

In many languages it is observed that the verb To Be is made up of two or more roots. In such cases it may be predicted, that the different *times* which they indicate have nothing to do with the forms or inflexions. The phenomena which have been above adduced from the Arabic language, as parallel to the Greek and Latin, are, it is believed, by no means peculiar to these tongues; but it may be sufficient at present to have indicated a principle without attempting an ambitious induction, which must, after all, remain very incomplete.

F. W. N.

Remarks on a Passage in the Funeral Oration of Pericles.

It is always a suspicious circumstance, when a passage seems to be well got over only by translating some important word, in such a way as to render it a sort of ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, quoad the (supposed) *local* meaning. And yet so common is this mode of interpretation, that I believe a vast number of words have thus acquired one or more traditional significations, not Greek or Roman, but purely scholastic; the invention of commentators who, in moments of ingenuity and laziness, have entered them (with or without "h. l.") into their notes; from whence, after passing some time in a chrysalis state, they soar off into the open air of literature, become the prey of collectors, and are pinned down in lexicons. A passage in the Funeral Oration seems to me to illustrate this.

Pericles, having stated that the Athenian government went by the *name* of a democracy, proceeds to shew that, nevertheless, in the *working* of it, the evils imputed to that form of government were obviated by the full admission of all real claims on *public preference;* so that, practically, a recognized *in*equality existed, amounting to a graduated aristocracy of *merit;* whilst, in all questions or differences between man and man, absolute equality was maintained by law. This he expresses as follows: *μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατᾶ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεῖον*[1] *ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται* (Lib. II. 37. 2; Arnold's 2nd ed.). I would first remark, that the *δὲ* after *μέτεστι* answers to *ὄνομα μὲν* above in such a way as to render the forthcoming statement of the *facts* of the case merely *corrective* of the impression produced by the *name* "Democracy;" but that the *κατὰ μὲν—κατὰ δὲ* which follow express *more*, viz. a strong *contrast* between *their* respective clauses. Secondly, that I prefer taking *νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα* together, as a noun and adjective. Thirdly, that *μέρους* does not bear *any* of the significations assigned to it by Bloomfield, Arnold, or Goeller (all of which seem to amount either to "caste" or "faction"), so well as one which will be best explained by premising a translation of the passage, in which the first *δὲ* is omitted, as irrelevant to *this* part of the statement.

"With regard to the laws for (the adjustment of) *private* differences, equality belongs to all (alike), but, with regard to intrinsic-excellence, each is esteemed, in a *public*-point-of-view, not on the ground of mere-individuality, but of (relative)-merit, according-as he

[1] For this use of *ἐς* see "*ἐς τὰ ἄλλα*" (Lib. I. 2), and other passages, which seem to supersede Liddell and Scott's interpretation of this clause in v. *προτιμάω*.

has-a-name in this-or-that (department)." Or, retaining the δὲ: "Whilst, however, by the laws for adjusting questions between man and man, all are placed absolutely on a level, yet, as to claim on public estimation, any one who has an established reputation in any particular line, takes-rank according to his relative value, instead of merging as *an unit of the same denomination with the rest.*"[2] This last (arithmetical) expression conveys my idea of the force of ἀπὸ μέρους; and seems to be strictly in accordance with the ordinary meanings of μέρος.

Liddell and Scott's Lexicon gives οἱ ἐπὶ μέρους, individuals; κατὰ μέρος, in turn; κατὰ τὸ ἐμὸν μέρος, Lat. *pro virili;* τοὐμὸν μέρος, τὸ σὸν μέρος, simply, "I or me, Thou or thee;" with other meanings, strongly marking *individuality.* Scapula gives, amongst others, τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους, particularia: τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐνεργείας, "*singulas* operationes;" *and I find nothing to support the other proposed renderings.* Where μέρος means "a *considerable* part" ("ein beträchtlicher Theil," Goeller's index), it seems to be by the same kind of μείωσις by which "εἶναι τις," or "esse aliquis," means, "to be *somebody*" (of note). Goeller points out, that public estimation *did*, even at Athens, go by caste (ἀπὸ μέρους) in *one* sense; but the *other* sense, in which he applies it to the contrasted case of Sparta, differs in degree only, not in kind. (Vol. I. pp. 311, 312.) I am aware that, strictly speaking, ἀπὸ μέρους προτιμᾶται, in the sense I have proposed, involves a species of contradiction; but, independent of the *ad libitum* force of προ in this verb, the reader will not fail to have frequently observed a similar result, from bringing into juxtaposition distant members of a sentence, especially when separated by negatives or disjunctives, such cases being, in fact, varieties of "zeugma." Compare, in N. T. Heb. VII. 27, XIII. 9; 1 Cor. VI. 1.

J. PRICE.

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[2] *E.g.* In the administration of justice, *any* two citizens, A and B, always stand to each other in the ratio 1 : 1; but in *state* questions (ἐς τὰ κοινά), A might be to B as 5 : 1, or in any other ratio of inequality.

XVII.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

We have received information that Professor Schneidewin, of Göttingen, contemplates editing a new philological journal, under the title of *Philologus*. It is to appear quarterly, and all the articles are to be written in Latin, in order to render it accessible to all scholars, to whatever country they may belong. If the Latin language is to be the only distinguishing feature of this new periodical, we cannot be sanguine as to its success, for surely there is no want of philological journals in Germany. The scholars of that country should endeavour to concentrate their labours and efforts for the promotion of classical studies, rather than divide them. From the late disputes between Professor Schneidewin and Theodor Bergk, we cannot help suspecting that the whole scheme is only an attempt to injure the excellent *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*, edited by Professor Bergk and J. Caesar.

A Memoir of Thomas Mitchell, Esq., A.M.

This distinguished scholar was born in London, on the 30th May, 1783. He was the son of Mr. Alexander Mitchell, a riding-master, in Hamilton-place, Piccadilly, and afterwards in Grosvenor-place. At the age of seven years, Thomas Mitchell was admitted into Christ's Hospital, on the presentation of Martyn Fonnereau, Esq. Here he remained, under the tuition of the Rev. James Bowyer, and afterwards under that of the Rev. Dr. Trollope, till October, 1822, when he was preferred to Pembroke College, Cambridge, on one of the exhibitions of the Hospital. In the year 1806, he took his degree of B.A., as a senior optime and the first classical medallist. In acknowledgment of this eminence, the governors of his school presented him with a silver cup, of the value of thirty guineas. He now naturally looked forward to the obtainment of a fellowship from the college, on which he had conferred so much honour; but in this hope he was disappointed by a novel resolution of the master and fellows, that not more than two students, educated at the same school, should be fellows of the college at the same time; and Mr. Thornton, a member of the *corps diploma-*

tique, and the Rev. Mr. Wood, afterwards master, both Christ's H pital men, were at that time ranked among the fellows of Pembro We are not inclined to dispute the general justice of such regulati Otherwise, the men of one school might in time exclude all competi from other schools; at least they might become a majority, and t always elect a schoolfellow to the mastership. But two in sevent is a very small proportion, and if this rule had been promulgated be Mr. Mitchell had commenced his studies at this college, he might h removed to some other, where the prospects of their being rewarded a fellowship were more certain. The unexpectedness of this reg tion, which seemed to be made to shut the door against the first c sical medallist Pembroke ever produced, was a severe mortificatio the first victim of it. As Mr. Mitchell had determined to devote h self to a scholastic life, this disappointment seemed to overset all future schemes, till in the year 1808 or 1809, he was enabled, by literary acquirements, to obtain a fellowship at Sidney Sussex Colle an acquisition the more honourable, inasmuch as the fellowship what is termed *open*, or subject to the rivalry of any competitors. I he entered in due time into holy orders, this fellowship would h provided him with part of those resources which he afterwards li to need, for Mr. Mitchell never married. But conscientious scru prevented him from becoming a candidate for holy orders; altho we can confidently state, that this reluctance of Mr. Mitchell a from an overwhelming fear of the responsibilities attached to the p toral office, and not to any objection to the doctrines of the Establis Church. After a limited term of years, he was obliged, by the stat of the college, to vacate his fellowship. Had he been a fellow Pembroke, his little provision would have continued for life, as statutes of that college do not require the entrance into holy orders.

Under these untoward circumstances, Mr. Mitchell devoted learning to private tuition and to the public press. For the first years after taking his bachelor's degree, he was tutor successively the families of Sir George Henry Rose, Mr. Robert Smith, and M Thomas Hope (author of *Anastasius*). In the second of these famil he used to claim the honour of having had for his pupil the Right H Vernon Smith.

In the year 1810 the writer of this brief memoir had the pleasure introducing him to Mr. William Gifford; and in 1813 he commenc the series of essays in the *Quarterly Review*, on Aristophanes a Athenian manners, which led to his own translations in verse of t *Old Comedian*, which appeared in two volumes, in the years 1820 a 1822. As it is now the fashion to affiliate the papers in the *Quarte Review*, we have made out the following list of Mr. Mitchell's cont

butions to that Journal: No. XVII. Article 9; XLII. 1; XLIII. 9; XLV. 12; XLVIII. 8; LIV. 6; LVIII. 2; LXVI. 3; LXXXVIII. 3.

Some of these essays had impressed the patrons of a vacant Greek chair in one of the Scotch universities with so much respect for Mr. Mitchell's classical attainments, that they invited him, through a friend, to accept of the situation. It was a lucrative, as well as a most respectable one, and he was a poor man; but he must have signed the Confession of the Scotch Kirk, and to him this was an insurmountable objection.

For the last twenty years of his life Mr. Mitchell resided with his relations, in the county of Oxford, and therefore found it not inconvenient to undertake the occasional task of superintending the publication of the Greek works, which issued from time to time from the Clarendon press. During the years 1834-8, he edited, in separate volumes, for Mr. Murray, the publisher, five of the plays of Aristophanes, with English notes, for the use of schools and universities. This edition drew forth from the Rev. G. J. Kennedy, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, some strictures, to which Mr. Mitchell published a reply in 1841. He also published useful indices to the Greek orators and Plato. In 1839 he entered into an engagement with Mr. H. Parker, of Oxford, to edit an edition of Sophocles; but after the publication of the first three plays, it was discovered that the masters of our public schools objected to English notes, as seducing their writers into too great excursiveness and irrelevancy. Mr. Parker, therefore, in 1842, suspended his Sophocles, and Mr. Mitchell was left without any other employment than what the Clarendon press might casually offer. Under these circumstances, not only did his health and spirits begin to fail, but he suffered serious pecuniary inconvenience from private losses, and the cessation of all literary income. His friends became alarmed for him, and, through the kind intervention of the late Mr. Morritt, of Rokeby, his condition was made known to Sir Robert Peel, who immediately placed at his disposal the sum of £150, from the Royal Bounty Fund, and (what to Mr. Mitchell's feelings was more gratifying than pecuniary aid) conveyed to him, in a private letter, the expressions of his respect and sympathy. In 1843 Mr. Parker resumed his publication of Sophocles, and Mr. Mitchell edited the remaining four plays of that tragedian, with shorter notes than before; and in the year 1844 he devoted himself to the preparation of a minor edition of a *Pentalogia Aristophanica*, with brief Latin notes, for the use of schools.

He had nearly completed this task, when death surprised him. He had been long in a weak state of health, but his end was sudden and unexpected. His health had improved with the present year, and he was indulging himself in well-founded hopes that his governmental grant

would be renewed in May, and be followed by a pe
Alas! on the 6th day of that mouth, he had breakfa
his house at Steeple Aston, near Woodstock, with his
keeper, and adjourned to his study in tolerable healt
hours afterwards, the niece, on entering the room, fou
ment to opening the door. It was caused by his d
had fallen against it. The medical man who was su
opinion that life had been extinct at least two hou
apoplexy. Mr. Mitchell had not quite completed
year.

XVIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

On the Origin and Ramifications of the English Language. Preceded by an Inquiry into the Primitive Seats and Final Settlements of the Principal European Nations. By H. Welsford, Esq. 1845. 8vo. (London: Longman and Co.)

This is a work that answers neither to its title nor to its pretensions. The English language forms the least part of it. The book is written *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, being half æsthetics and half political-economy. The doctrines of Malthus are made to bear upon the question of the old German population; whilst, in the matter of style, Hafiz of Persia is compared with Pope of England. Good never comes from subjects thus treated. The close grapple of detailed criticism is ever required for the verification of paradoxes. Neither are the merits of the production on a level with its claims; since the laxity of argument, the discursiveness of arrangement, and the heterogeneousness of illustration, indicated above, are, by far, the smallest faults of the composition.

This is strong language, which we have used with caution and reluctance. Unfortunately it is absolutely necessary in ethnography, in order to rescue the study from the hands of castle-builders and amateurs. It were a rash conclusion and a fond hope to imagine that the old days of philological folly are gone by. Statements are still made, on the presumption that there is no sound doctrine for them to jostle with; it being forgotten that even if ethnography be the study of but few, by those few it is known well and critically.

These later observations we confine to the *class* of writings dealt with. To the particular work in hand, they extend but partially. It is the misfortune of the *Ramifications*, &c., to belong to a disreputable class. It is its merit to be a fair specimen of its order. The worst book on ethnographical philology has yet to be written. Its demerits are beyond conjecture, but it will probably be the worst book in the world. On the contrary, Mr. Welsford's work would earn for its author an Irish prize in a good year, a Welsh one in an average year, and a Volney prize in a bad one.

It is always inauspicious for a writer to open his subject with a false view of what he teaches or unteaches. The best of us hear with unwil-

ling candour comminations against a cherished doctrine. To be saddled, however, with the adhesion to gratuitous absurdities, just in order that the critic may claim for himself the merit of undeceiving us, is what the very gentlest repudiate. Mere policy should have spared us such an announcement as the following, occurring in the very first page of the preface.

"That the barbarous nations which overthrew the Roman empire in the fifth century, and which are denominated by the historians of the middle ages as the Northern Hive, came from Scandinavia, and that Scandinavia was situated in the north of Europe, and limited to the modern kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark."

Thus, then, the Ostrogoths of Theodoric, the Visogoths of Alaric, the Mæsogoths of Ulphlas, the Vandals of Genseric, the Franks of Clovis, did *not* come from Sweden. Who thought they did? We have no sympathy with battles against men of straw, and no interest in the discoveries of mares'-nests. Insufficient information concerning the latest *data* and the newest *hypotheses* is a lighter fault than blunders upon matters of current belief; it being less discreditable to overlook the latest details in a special department, than to attribute hallucinations to the learned world in general. The former we readily excuse. Philology moves quickly, and speaks in a variety of tongues. To keep pace with its progress depends upon the accidental appliances of books and opportunity, as much as upon the essential elements of sense, learning, and industry. Still there are questions, where the possession of a certain amount of preliminary learning is not only an advantage, but a condition. The statements of Mr. Welsford concerning the Celts is of this sort. The details of Pritchard, Bopp, Pictet, and Garnett, have placed them in a definite and recognized position. Measured by its mass only, the evidence upon the point is equal to the whole of Mr. Welsford's volume. Now how is this dealt with? Is it invalidated, either in its principles or in its details? Far from it. It is barely recognized. It is practically treated as nothing at all. It is supposed to be set aside by Mr. Welsford's counter-statement.

Now, if we ask what is involved in this counter-statement, we shall have a good measure of philological reasoning, that either *is* or *ought to be* forthcoming in its support. It involves—

1. The ethnographical position of the Cynetæ, Thracians, and Scythians of Herodotus.

2. The identity of the Thracians and Scythians.

3. The descent of the present Germans from these last-named races.

4. The belief that a connection between the German of the nineteenth century and the German of the Germania of Tacitus is a vulgar error.

5. The essential identity of the Gauls and Germans, both being Celts.

6. The original descent of all these nations from parts of Asia where at present languages not even of the Indo-European tribe are spoken, i. e. from the parts north of the Caspian.

This is not a tithe of the assumptions, each of which is against the current opinion of the learned world; and, consequently, a paradox. Now the doctrines of Pritchard, Bopp, Pictet, and Garnett (to go no farther into the list of ethnographical philologists) were *not* paradoxes. Yet they were considered to require not only *some*, but *much* proof, and that of the common-sense, straight-forward kind.

Measure against this the evidence for Mr. Welsford's paradoxes. Abundant it certainly is, but not either common-sense or straight-forward. Still it is abundant in amount, and in kind like the following extract.

P. 173. "Italia, from Italus. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, says, that Italus changed the name of Œnotria into Italy; and, in the same passage, mentions the Chaonians as an Œnotrian tribe, which are so many confirmations of the etymologies which precede and follow.

"*Aith* (Hebrew), Time; *Hit* (Arabic), Time; *Ail* (Hebrew) God; *us*, Latin termination.

"Italus, Saturn, Chronos, or the god Time, or the god of Time and Italians, those who worshipped Saturn under that name, or were conceived to have possessed the country from time immemorial."

With proof like this, abundance is poverty. Yet the extract was made at random, being the one upon which we opened the book; while its merits are rather above than below the average. What they and their like prove, is a question of little importance. It were curious, however, to determine what they would *not* prove.

Partially, they justify the style of the book. We described it as containing arguments the most extraneous. It is fair, however, to add, that upon mature deliberations, the interwoven doctrines of the Malthusian theory, and the Irish Church, as connected therewith, are of equal validity as evidence, and of parallel value as illustrations, with the proper and peculiar etymologies.

The influence of the book is seen at once. It leaves opinions just where they were before. Its artistic value is a matter of calculation. It is worse or better than the *chef-d'œuvres* of General Vallancy and his imitators, just in proportion as it has more or fewer etymologies.

R. G. L.

A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. Series 1st. Ancient Philosophy. By G. H. Lewes. Knight's Weekly Volumes, Nos. 45 and 46.

HERE is one of the *Curiosities of Literature;* a History of Greek Philosophy, from Thales to Proclus, in some four hundred *duodecimo* pages. No mere "sketch," be it observed; no, we have the author's own word that it is no such paltry thing: his work is "complete," that is, it has "an organic completeness." We know not with what to parallel this extraordinary feat. The Iliad in a nut-shell was a mere wonder of penmanship. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, wrote the history of the world from the creation in three books,

Doctis, Juppiter! et *laboriosis*—

But Mr. Lewes's work is neither learned nor laborious. We say this, again, on his own authority. He tells us that he is "neither a speculative nor erudite historian;" that he "makes no pretensions to the character of a *savant;*" and that his book has been compiled on the *sic vos non vobis* principle, by "*liberally* availing himself of the *industry* of others." We hardly know which to admire most; the *naïve* modesty of the avowal, or the cool assurance of the attempt. In a literary sense, Mr. Lewes is *un vrai chevalier d'industrie.* Like that dashing order of speculators, he looks upon any stock of his own as an incumbrance rather than otherwise; and with him learning and dulness are convertible terms. Thus Ritter is said to be "the Brucker of the 19th century; not *quite* so *learned* and not *quite* so *dull.*" Yet, inconsistently enough, he would fain hint that he is not so superficial as he seems; and tells us that "it is some consolation to know that all who are competent to judge will not judge by appearances." The "appearances" are, that Mr. L. has undertaken a history of Greek Philosophy without knowing any thing of Greek, nor of philosophy. Whether he should be judged by these "appearances" we must leave the reader to determine from a few random specimens. And first for his Greek.

In the life of Xenophanes (Vol. I. p. 77) a passage in Diogenes Laertius is thus translated: "Xenophanes wrote two thousand verses on the foundation of Colophon, and on an Italian colony sent to Elea." We had always thought that Elea was in Italy, and fancy that we are borne out by the text: ἐποίησε δὲ—καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἐλέαν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποικισμόν (Lib. 9, 2, 3). It would be just as correct to talk of a Spanish colony sent to Gibraltar. In p. 183, foll. Mr. Lewes favours the world with a translation from Plato's *Symposium*, cap. 32; and as he had previously declined to alter Taylor's version of another passage

from that author, lest he should be held *responsible* for the whole, we were naturally on the very tip-toe of expectation. Guess, then, at our bewilderment on perusing what follows: "For Marsyas, and whoever now pipes the music that he taught, for that music *which is of heaven*, and described as being taught by Marsyas, enchants men through the power of the mouth." To solve the puzzle we turned to the original, and found that Mr. L. had only perpetrated the trifling blunder of converting Olympus, the flute-player, into heaven itself! and that all Plato meant to say was, that "Marsyas enchanted mankind by his skill in playing upon the flute, as, indeed, whoever now performs his music does; that part of it, I mean, which Olympus used to play under the tuition of Marsyas." In quoting a passage from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Mr. L. begins his sentence with the particle γάρ (Vol. I. p. 223). Anthropomorphism is constantly spelt *anthromorphism*. Had we the space we might extend this list *ad libitum;* but the preceding specimens are, we suspect, *enough*. There is, however, in the second volume (p. 118) so gross a blunder that we cannot pass it over in silence, though, with all the proofs of Mr. Lewes's felicity in that way before us, we are half willing to believe that it must have arisen from some accident to the types. In the list of Aristotle's *Categories*, *every one* is translated wrongly. Thus *οὐσία* is *quantity*, *πόσον*, *quality*, and so forth.

Mr. Lewes's Philosophy is on a par with his Greek. In his Introduction (p. 17) the law of attraction is thus lucidly and elegantly expressed: "Attraction is the square of the distance." But why should so great a "thinker" as Mr. L. be expected to trouble himself with so dry and vulgar a thing as proportion, or to care whether it be direct or inverse? What would be the precise effect of his new law of nature we are not prepared to say. As it is not the *existing* law, however, it is to be feared that those sober and orderly bodies, the planets, would "shoot madly from their spheres," and that "chaos would come again." Mars might be in collision with Venus; Mercury, after laying Jupiter by the heels, might run off with Saturn's ring. What would become of that lonely individual, the man in the moon? No more full moons, half moons, nor even quarters. As for our own nice little ball—but we cannot bear to think of it.

Mr. Lewes is equally strong in Metaphysics. Let us take a specimen from the life of Zeno of Elea. In Aristotle's *Physics* (Lib. 6, 9) are given four arguments of Zeno against the possibility of motion: of which we need here consider only three. It is necessary to premise that they are founded on the assumed divisibility of space and time; and which, if once allowed, must be a divisibility *ad infinitum*. The first problem is, that (on such an assumption) a body in motion could

never reach the end of its journey, because it must first pass the middle point. But if space be infinitely divisible, how can it ever reach that point? The second is the famous Achilles problem. Achilles, the swiftest of foot, could never overtake the slowest animal, say a tortoise, because he must first reach the *point* which the tortoise has left. But whilst Achilles was running a hundred feet, the tortoise might run ten, and so on *ad infinitum*. It is evident that these two problems rest on precisely the same ground, and differ only in their enunciation; the first taking half a given space, and the second a different quantity. The third problem is, that if time, one of the elements of motion, consists of instants, the flying arrow is at rest, since at every instant it is in a space equal to itself, and cannot, therefore, be at once *in* that space and *out* of it. This problem, therefore, like the preceding, is founded on the divisibility of time, though it does not contemplate its *infinite* divisibility. Victor Cousin, in his life of Zeno, in the *Biographie Universelle*, lately republished, with other pieces, at Brussels, under the title of *Nouveaux Fragmens Philosophiques*, has very ably shewn from the *Parmenides* of Plato that these arguments of Zeno's are only a part of his peculiar system of *Dialectics*. He never intended to maintain them *seriously;* but, though naught in themselves, they are good by way of *reductio ad absurdum* of the tenet of the Ionian school respecting the divisibility of the universe. Mr. Lewes has such a natural genius for contradictions, that it is impossible to make out whether he adopts M. Cousin's view or not. He admits (p. 96) that Zeno's method of *Dialectics* was that of *reductio ad absurdum*, and that "we must not seek in his arguments for any thing beyond the mere exercise of dialectical subtlety." Yet only four pages further on he tells us that "the other arguments of Zeno against the possibility of motion (and he maintained four, the third of which we have above explained) are given by Aristotle; but they seem more like the exercises of dialectical subtlety than the *real* arguments of an *earnest* man!" How can one deal with so slippery a philosopher? Yet stay—he here tells us that he has "explained" something, viz. Zeno's third problem. In this he holds that Zeno was *in earnest*, and that his argument is founded in *truth*. "In each individual *point* of space," says he, "the object is at rest; the *sum total* of a number of these states of rest is called motion!" "The *fallacy* is in the supposition—that motion is a *thing*, whereas, as Zeno clearly saw, it is only a *condition*. In a falling stone there is not the 'stone' and a thing called 'motion,' otherwise there would be also another thing called 'rest.'"

In the second edition of his book—if it should ever be forthcoming—we trust that Mr. Lewes will favour the world with the names of

those who thought that motion was a *thing;* and that he will also explain a little more clearly why, though motion and rest are only *conditions*, they must necessarily be *similar* conditions. But what an acute philosopher must Mr. L. be not to see that he is adopting the very fallacy that Zeno was refuting; who "clearly saw" that space and time are one and continuous, and not really divisible, as in human conceptions of them, into points and instants. After this the reader will not be surprised to find that Mr. Lewes defends the Sophists, whom he considers "a very calumniated race," and thinks that Socrates must have been a "prodigious bore" to them! Had he lived in the age of Pericles he would doubtless have been a Sophist himself, though, perhaps, not a rich one.

We are sorry to have wasted the reader's time over this book; but it is one of a class which deserves to be exposed, and this we could not do without entering into some little detail. We are by no means confident that we have selected the richest specimens. We never before so strongly experienced the *embarras de richesses;* and felt something like a boy in a pastrycook's when told to "take what he likes."

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS, SOCRATES AND PLATO. By the Rev. J. Phillips Potter, A.M. (London: Parker, 1845.)

THIS is the first of three little volumes, in which Mr. Potter proposes to consider the character of Socrates under the aspects of religion, politics, and dialectics. The book consists of a series of papers, several of which have already appeared in periodicals. But though in the eyes of some this circumstance may confer a stamp of value upon Mr. Potter's labours, we must confess that we think his work would have gained unity and strength had he been at the trouble of re-casting it into a less desultory shape. Many of the views are so good as to deserve this labour. At present, small as the volume is, it has almost the appearance of book-making, so unconnectedly are some of the papers introduced, *e.g.* that "On the Connection between Religion and Philosophy," and perhaps, too, that "On Dr. Burton's Estimate of Gnosticism;" which latter, though it might fairly form an appendix to a view of the Platonic philosophy, scarcely belongs to the subject proposed in the preface—a view of the character of Socrates. The form of reviews, too, in which some of the papers originally appeared, sometimes gives them too controversial a tone for a substantive and original work; and in defending Socrates, the author speaks, we think, with

some unnecessary depreciation of Bacon. The book, however, possesses the valuable, and now-a-days rather rare, recommendation of common sense. One of Mr. Potter's chief points is to distinguish the moral and religious tenets of Socrates, as they may be gathered from the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, and the earlier dialogues of Plato, from those which Plato has put into his mouth in what have been called his *Monologues*, such as the *Republic* and *Laws;* as to the value of which latter class of works Mr. Potter is at direct variance with Schleiermacher and Professor Sewell.

Βιογραφοι. VITARUM SCRIPTORES GRAECI MINORES. Edidit A. Westermann. Brunsvigae, 1845. 8vo.

PROFESSOR WESTERMANN here presents us with another volume of those useful collections which have engaged his attention for the last six or seven years. In 1839 he published the Greek Παραδοξογραφοι, or *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*, containing (Aristotle's) *Mirabiles Auscultationes*, Antigoni, Apollonii, Phlegontis *Historiae Mirabiles*, Michaelis Pselli *Lectiones Mirabiles*, and various other minor works of the same kind. That volume was followed, in 1843, by his Μυθογραφοι, or *Scriptores Poeticae historiae Graeci*, containing the Bibliotheca of Apollodorus; Conon's Narrationes; Parthenius' Narrationes Amatoriae; the Novae Historiae of Ptolemaeus, the son of Hephaestion; the Metamorphoses of Antoninus Liberalis; the Catasterismi of Eratosthenes; Palaephatus de Incredibilibus, and various other works of the same class. The present volume contains all the minor Greek biographies of literary men, that have come down to us, excluding of course those of Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Philostratus, who may be regarded as majores vitarum scriptores. In executing his task, Westermann has availed himself not only of the best editions of separate lives, wherever there were any, but has consulted and collated a variety of MSS.; in many cases, however, no remedy could be found, and passages here appear again in their corrupt state, as incurable. The work is divided into eight books, each embracing the lives of a particular class of writers: viz. book I. lives of epic poets (including the life of Homer, formerly attributed to Herodotus, and the Ἀγὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου); II. of lyric poets; III. of tragic poets; IV. of comic and bucolic poets; V. of historians; VI. of orators and sophists (including the lives of the "ten orators," commonly ascribed to Plutarch); VII. of philosophers; and VIII. of medical writers. Many of these lives are the productions of unknown grammarians, and many are taken from the Lexicon of Suidas, and are of course of very different value.

In the case of Homer there are no less than eight lives, and, as the student has them here all together, he has at once all the materials before him, and can compare the various statements with one another, without much trouble. The work is particularly useful to those who are engaged in the study of Greek literature, and it is only to be regretted that the editor has not accompanied the biographies with some sort of historical comment. Critical notes relating to the text are added at the foot of the page, and copious indices enhance the convenience and utility of the work.

XIX.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

Arnold, Dr. T., History of Rome. Vol. III. 2nd edition. London, Fellowes, 1845. 8vo.

Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the British Archæological Association. Oxford, 1845. 8vo.

Akerman, J. Y., Ancient Coins. Part IV.—Hispania, Nerii to Ebusus; Gallia, Averni to Cassio. London, Smith, 1845. 8vo.

Becker, W. A., Charicles; or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks: with Excursus and Notes. Translated by the Rev. F. Metcalfe. London, Parker, 1845. Post 8vo.

Blackie, J. S., De Latinarum Literarum Praestantia atque Utilitate, Oratio Academica. London, Taylor and Walton, 1845. 8vo.

Donaldson, J. W., Constructionis Graecae Praecepta in usum Scholarum. London, Longman and Co., 1845. 12mo.

Dressner, A Treatise on the Genuine Pronunciation of the Ancient Romans. Dublin, 1845. 12mo.

Dunlop, J., The History of Fiction; being a Critical Account of the most celebrated Prose Works of Fiction, from the earliest Greek Romances to the Novels of the present age. 3rd edition. London, Longman, 1845. Medium 8vo.

Haigh, D. H., An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles. Leeds, 1845. 8vo.

Heesey, Rev. James A., Schemata Rhetorica; or Tables explanatory of the Euthymeme of Aristotle. Oxford, 1845. Folio.

Horace, The Sapphic Odes of. Translated into nearly corresponding English verse with the Original Text. By the Rev. John Peat. London, 1845. 12mo.

Lewes, G. H., A Biographical History of Ancient Philosophy. London, Knight, 1845. 2 vols. 12mo.

Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, based on the German work of Francis Passow. 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. Oxford, 1845. 4to.

Parkhurst, J., Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament. New edition, by the late H. J. Rose, B.D., and J. R. Major, D.D. London, 1845. Royal 8vo.

Potter, Rev. J. Ph., Characteristics of the Greek philosophers, Socrates and Plato. London, Parker, 1845. 12mo.

Scriptores Monastici. Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense. Iterum post Sparkium cum Cod. MS. contulit J. A. Giles, LL.D. London, 1845. 8vo.

Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Vol. II., Part 3 (Part XII.). London, Taylor and Walton, 1845.

—— School Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, abridged from the larger Dictionary, with numerous engravings. London, J. Murray, and Taylor and Walton, 1845. Small 8vo.

Thirlwall, C., Bishop of St. David's, The History of Greece. New edition, with Maps and Plans. London, Longman, and J. Taylor, 1845. Vol. I. 8vo.

Welsford, on the Origin and Ramifications of the English Language. London, Longman, 1845. 8vo.

Zumpt, Professor, Grammar of the Latin Language. Translated from the 9th edition, and adapted for the use of English students. By Dr. L. Schmitz, with new additions by the Author. London, Longman, 1845. 8vo.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

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Aristophanes, Ranae. Edit. F. Fritsche. 8vo. Turici. 13s. 6d.

Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea. Ex recens. I. Bekkeri. 2nd edit. Berlin. 8vo. 3s.

Babrii Fabulae Iambicae cxxiii. J. F. Boissonade recensuit. 2nd edit. Paris. 12mo. 1s.

Babrii Fabellae Iambicae cxxiii. a Minoide Mena in monte Atho nuper repertae. Ex edit. Boissonade, ed. Orelli et Baiter. Turici. 12mo. 1s. 6d.

Babrii Fabulae Aesopeae. C. Lachmann et amici emendarunt, ceter. poet. Choliamb. ab A. Meinekio collect. emend. Berlin. 8vo. 4s.

Bake, J., Scholica Hypomnemata. Tom. III. Lugdun. Bat. 12mo. 9s.

Bergk, Th., Animadversiones Criticae in Babrii Fabulas. In the Marburg Program for the summer course of 1845. 4to.

Brevis Explicatio Fabularum Babrii ad secundam edit. Boissonadii. Paris. 12mo.

Bock, C. W., Die ältesten Bewohner Aegyptens, deren Sprache, Hauptgottheiten, &c. Berlin. 8vo. 1s.

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Bunsen, Beschreibung Roms. Ein Auszug aus dem grössern Werke von Platner u. Urlichs. Stuttgard. 8vo. 12s.

Burnouf, E., Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien. Tom. I. Paris. 4to. 30s.

Brunet de Presle, W., Recherches sur les Etablissements des Grecs en Sicile. Two vols. 8vo. Paris.

Capelle, A. G. van, Commentatio de Regibus et Antiquitatibus Pergamenis. Amsterdam. 8vo. 7s.

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Ciceronis Epistolae Selectae. Ed. C. F. Süpfle. 2nd edit. Karlsruhe. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

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Gradus ad Parnassum Latinum. Ed. F. A. Friedemann. Pars II. 4th edit. Lipsiae. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

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Lettre à M. Schorn. Supplement au Catalogue Raoul-Rochette, des Artistes de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine. Paris. 8vo. 29s.

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Urlichs, H. N., Lexicon Latino-Graecum. Athens. 8vo. 13s. 6d.

Urlichs, L., Die Römische Topographie in Leipzig. Stuttgard. 8vo. 4s.

Westermann, A., Βιογραφοι. Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores. Brunsvigae. 8vo.

Zumpt, A. W., De Ciceronis ad Brutum Epistolis. Berlin. 4to. 2s. 6d.

Zumpt, C. G., Die Religion der Römer. Berlin, 1845. 8vo.

THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

XX.

ON THE CHORAL DANCING OF THE GREEKS.

WITHOUT pretending to give any regular account of the art of dancing, as it existed amongst the Greeks, I shall endeavour to shew in the following pages, first; that it was not viewed by them in the trivial light in which we are apt to regard it; secondly, that they used it, as well as music, in the higher species of the ode, such as the choruses of tragedy and the epinician odes of Pindar—a fact which there seems to be a growing disposition to dispute.

Dancing was included by the Greeks under the general term of *music* (μουσική). Thus Aristides Quintilianus, one of the best writers on ancient music, in his account of Rhythm, tells us that musical rhythm is perceptible by two of our senses, sight and hearing; and that the subjects of rhythm in music are, the motion of the body, melody, and speech. ὁ δὲ κατὰ μουσικὴν (ῥυθμὸς) ὑπὸ δυοῖν (νοεῖται), ὄψεώς τε καὶ ἀκοῆς· ῥυθμίζεται δὲ ἐν μουσικῇ κίνησις σώματος, μελῳδία, λέξις. (L. I. p. 31, ed. Meib.) And a little further on he says that these three sorts of rhythm mingled together constitute the *ode* (ταῦτα δὲ σύμπαντα μιγνύμενα τὴν ᾠδὴν ποιεῖ).

This is perfectly consonant with what we learn from the more classic writers. Plato, in the first *Alcibiades*, gives just the same definition of music. Εἰπὲ πρῶτον τίς ἡ τέχνη ἧς τὸ καθαρίζειν καὶ τὸ ᾄδειν καὶ τὸ ἐμβαίνειν ὀρθῶς;—Μουσικήν μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν. (p. 810, C.) So, too, from several passages in the *Laws* of the same author it is plain that he regarded dancing as a part of music: as in the second book; καινὰ δὲ

ἄττα ἀεὶ γιγνόμενα περί τε τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην μουσικὴν ξύμπασαν. (p. 660, B.) It is needless to multiply citations; but the reader may compare the same book (p. 655, B); also *Philebus* (c. VII. p. 17, D. &c.). So, too, Aristotle ranges dancing under music, in the following passage of his *Politics:* ὁ γὰρ θεατὴς φορτικὸς ὢν μεταβάλλειν εἴωθε τὴν μουσικὴν· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν μελετῶντας αὐτούς τε ποιούς τινας ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ σώματα διὰ τὰς κινήσεις. (Lib. VIII. c. 7.) Indeed the Greeks seem to have considered that rhythm, the necessary concomitant of music, could hardly exist without motion; whilst, on the other hand, they clearly recognized the possibility of its subsisting independently on sound. Thus Aristotle tells us that it may be discovered in the motions of the dancer, although there be no tune: αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥυθμῷ μιμεῖται, χωρὶς ἁρμονίας, ἡ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν. (*Poet.* c. I.) But the rhythm of verse and music, when not accompanied with actual dancing, was at least marked by the motion of the foot. The idea of movement is included in all the illustrations of rhythm given by Longinus: ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τοὺς χαλκέας ἴδωμεν τὰς σφύρας καταφέροντας ἅμα τινὰ καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἀκούομεν· καὶ ἱππῶν δὲ πορεία ῥυθμὸς ἐνομίσθη, καὶ κίνησις δακτύλων, καὶ μελῶν σχήματα[1], καὶ χορδῶν κινήματα, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τὰ πτερυγίσματα. (*Frag.* § ἑ. Toup.) Where the word ἴδωμεν is remarkable; we *see* the motion of the hammers, and at the same time hear a rhythmical sound. From this prevalent sense of motion in rhythm, the word ῥυθμός seems to be sometimes used by Greek writers as equivalent to dancing itself, as we shall perhaps see in the course of this inquiry.

Having thus endeavoured to establish the true meaning which the Greeks affixed to the words *music* (in its more extended sense) and *rhythm*, I shall now proceed to the first part of my position; namely, that dancing was not viewed by that people in the trivial light in which we are apt to regard it, but as an art which, on certain occasions, might become both dignified and solemn. By some it may be considered that I am here undertaking a work of supererogation; but as it is

[1] The Latin version renders the words by *apta membrorum conformatio.* But though the word *rhythm*, by a borrowed use, sometimes signifies bodily symmetry; yet the context shews that by σχήματα μελῶν Longinus here means the postures of the limbs in dancing.

in this part that the fact of Greek choral dancing has sometimes been disputed, it becomes necessary to examine whether the objections be tenable.

Plato, in the second book of his *Laws* (p. 653, E), traces the origin of music and dancing to the delight which youth naturally feels in the exercise of the limbs and voice; a feeling springing from the fulness of animal life and enjoyment, and shared by the brute creation with mankind. Only the rational soul, however, was capable of perceiving the beauty of order in sound and motion. The order of motion is rhythm; that of the voice, harmony; and both together constituted what the Greeks understood by the word *chorus*. *τῇ δὲ τῆς κινήσεως τάξει ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα εἴη· τῇ δ' αὖ τῆς φωνῆς, τοῦ τε ὀξέος ἅμα καὶ βαρέος συγκεραννυμένων, ἁρμονίας ὄνομα προσαγορεύοιτο· χορεία δὲ τὸ συναμφότερον κληθείη.* (p. 665, B.) So also previously; *χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησίς τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ ξύνολον ἐστίν.* (p. 654, B.) Plato, who was a fanciful etymologist, derives the word *χορός*, in conformity with his account of the origin of dancing and music, from *χαρά, joy* (*χορούς τε ὠνομακέναι τὸ παρὰ τῆς χαρᾶς ἔμφυτον ὄνομα.*—*Leg.* II. p. 654, B); but it seems more probable that it was derived from an open space in towns affording room for the evolutions of the choral dances.

This habit of dancing together in chorus may be traced to a very early period of Greek antiquity. It is several times mentioned by Homer, both in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey;* and Hesiod, in his *Shield of Hercules* (v. 162, seqq.), describes both a chorus of maidens dancing to the lyre, and a *κῶμος* of youths, whose more boisterous movements are regulated by the sound of the flute. With the more ancient Greeks, however, and particularly amongst the lively children of Ionia and the Islands, choral dancing does not appear to have assumed quite so much of that sacred and solemn character with which it was subsequently invested. Its chief employment seems to have been on occasions of festivity; a wedding, a feast, or the vintage. To us this appears its only appropriate use. Yet there are records of a more solemn one even in those remoter times. Thus we learn from Homer's *Hymn to Apollo* (v. 146, seqq.), that choruses in honour of that deity were performed in Delos by the Ionians, and by the Delian maidens, a custom afterwards kept up by the Athenians. (*Thucyd.* III. 104.) In the same hymn, dancing and music are represented as the relaxations of

the immortal gods themselves. While the Muses sing responsively, the Graces, the Hours, Armonia, Hebe, and Venus, dance, laying hold of each other's wrists. Mars and Mercury join the throng; whilst Apollo leads them all, playing on the cithara, and dancing vigorously at the same time:

αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει
Καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς. V. 201.

In process of time, as the religion of the Greeks put on a more solemn character, so also did certain parts of their dancing. This may have been owing to various causes; the graver character of the more northern tribes, the use of the religious mysteries, and the intercourse of the Greeks with the Egyptians. There were no mysteries without dancing; which, indeed, formed so characteristic a feature of them, that he who was impious enough to reveal their secrets was said ἐξορχεῖσθαι. (Lucian, *Salt.* 15.) So the initiated are represented, in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, as indulging in choral dances. The influence of Egypt on Greek civilization is well known. In that singular country, which it would be perhaps depreciating to call the China of antiquity, the different kinds of music and dancing were sanctified and rendered unalterable by being dedicated to the service of particular gods. (Plato, *Leg.* VII. p. 799, B.) These songs and dances, Plato tells us, and with a solemnity of asseveration that puzzles all our chronological notions, were the invention of Isis, and had existed for ten thousand years; not ten thousand years, as people loosely speak (ὡς ἔπος εἴπειν), but actually and truly (ὄντως). It may be a subject of conjecture whether the Jews, during their captivity, borrowed from the Egyptians the custom of dancing, as a religious ceremony. That at least it was so used amongst them is apparent from several passages of the Old Testament. Thus Miriam is represented as celebrating the defeat of the Egyptians with timbrels and dances (Exod. xv. 20); and at a later period, David is described as dancing before the ark, "with all his might." (2 Sam. VI. 14.) It is true that he thereby draws upon himself the contempt of Michal; not, however, that she considered his dancing profane, but that the king of Israel should have exhibited himself, like some "vain fellow."

When we see such a custom existing in so severe a religion as that of the Jews, which had so strong an aversion to all

idolatrous rites, we feel no surprise in finding it constitute a part of pagan worship. A religious festival was, to the Greeks, a season of relaxation and enjoyment, bestowed by the gods upon man, the most laborious of created beings; who also appointed the muses, Apollo, and Dionysus, to be his *συγχορευταί*, and to partake of the ceremonies. (Plato, *Leg.* II. p. 653, D.) From a singular account which Plato gives of certain public choruses, in the seventh book of his *Laws* (p. 800, D), it would appear that they had much degenerated in his time from their original institution, and become subject to great abuse. He tells us, that when any city made a public sacrifice, the altar was surrounded by several choruses of strangers, which poured out all manner of blasphemies; and he who best succeeded in wounding the feelings of the sacrificers was considered to bear away the palm. The philosopher seeks a remedy for these abuses, not in the abolishing of music and dancing, but in their regulation. He would appoint a committee, composed of men above the age of fifty, to choose, from the vast existing collection of songs and dances, such as were most adapted to each form of government. He would make these men the supreme arbiters of such choruses (*ὄρχησίν τε καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ πᾶσαν χορείαν συστήσασθαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν νοῦν.*—p. 802, C); and thus reduce the Greek dancing and music to the same order and regularity which prevailed in the Egyptian. Where these arts could thus be contemplated as the objects of serious legislation, we necessarily infer that they must have been looked upon in a light very different from our modern notions of them. The ideas associated with them must have been altogether of another kind. And that this was really so, may be seen in the philosophical analysis of their qualities and effects given by Plato and Aristotle.

The Greeks distinguished two sorts of dancing. One was a mere bodily exercise, and formed part of gymnastics; the other, of a higher description, was cultivated, *εὐψυχίας χάριν*—for the sake of the influence which it had upon the mind and morals. (*Leges,* VII. p. 795.) It was the last sort which was united with poetry. (*τῆς ὀρχήσεως δὲ ἄλλη μὲν Μούσης λέξιν μιμούμενων.* —*Ibid.*) This influence is accounted for by the theory of Plato, and of his disciple, Aristotle, that dancing was not mere unmeaning motion, but an imitation of life and manners. This imitative theory they also applied to music, in its narrower

ficiency in dancing in the public theatres. In the time of Aristotle, however, music seems beginning to lose something of that high consideration in which it had been previously held, and to be looked upon as nothing more than a pleasurable relaxation. He, therefore, intimates that some may be disposed to question the propriety of it as a means of education, and whether it be really conducive to virtue, according to the older notion. To this doubt he affords a full examination, and the result is a conviction that music has considerable effect in forming the mind, and, in his own words, making men *ποιοί τινες τὰ ἤθη*. (*Polit.* VIII. 5.) The importance thus attached by the Greeks to music and dancing may be accounted for by their habits and temperament. The most casual observer cannot fail to have been struck by their tendency towards materialism: as, for instance, in their mythological system, and in the notion that their bodies were their proper selves. Hence the care which they devoted to the education of the body, if such a phrase may be allowed. With them gymnastics were at least as essential as grammar. Amongst us, whose attention is almost exclusively directed to the cultivation of the intellect, there can be no notion of the feelings excited in a Greek mind by the graceful movements of the dance. Their luxurious climate, too, their vivacity, and the use of slaves in the meaner offices of life, left them not only abundance of leisure but the desire of enjoying it. Far from them was that cold utilitarianism which almost engrosses us children of a less genial clime, where each rising sun brings to the greater part of us the same dull round of unvarying duty. With the Greeks, the sole pursuit of the *useful*, to the exclusion of the *beautiful*, was regarded as unworthy of a liberal mind. (*τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν πανταχοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ἥκιστα ἁρμόττει τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις.*—Arist. *Polit.* VIII. 3.) With these dispositions, it became an object of solicitude to the moralist and legislator, to provide for them not only an innocent, but a noble recreation; and this they found in the musical arts.

We should form a wrong estimate, then, of the notion which the Greeks attached to dancing, if we viewed it through the light of our own prejudices. An art employed in their religious ceremonies, and considered to be so intimately connected with morals, could not have been regarded by them as

trivial or undignified, and therefore they saw no just cause or impediment why it should not be

Married to immortal verse.

The Greek standard of personal dignity, too, was far different from ours. The manners of modern Europe have been formed partly by the Romans, partly by the northern invaders, partly by our religion, and partly by the chivalric notions of the middle ages. These influences have contributed to form a character very different from that of the ancient Greek. It is very likely a more dignified and respectable one, but it is certainly far less natural. The Greek abandoned himself, like a child, to every impulse, without thinking of his dignity. We may be sometimes tempted to laugh at and despise him; but perhaps he might have been able to shew something ridiculous in our own manners and customs. The hero of the *Iliad* himself is undignified, nay puerile, in his conduct. Even the immortal gods laugh with unextinguishable, and very undignified laughter, at the mishaps of their butt, Vulcan. Without going to Aristophanes, we may see Hercules represented as a very vulgar hero by Euripides. The mutual abuse which Homer's heroes condescend to heap upon one another was a trait of character which did not die with them, but was perpetuated by the leading politicians and orators of Athens, in a style which might rival Billingsgate itself. To the northern blood of Anacharsis, even the sports of the palæstra seemed so undignified and degrading, that he flatly tells Solon, he should, if treated so himself, soon shew that the Scythians did not gird a sword in vain. (Lucian, *Anachar.*)

We are not reduced, however, to merely probable reasons, to shew that dancing was used in the Greek tragic chorus. If I have used that method, it is because it is the way in which the fact has been disputed. There is plenty of direct and credible testimony; but I shall not quote that of Lucian, Athenæus, and other writers of the same class. It is well known, and very apposite; nor can it, on any principle of sound criticism, be rejected, unless it can be shewn to be contradicted by more ancient authors; which is so far from being the case, that it is, on the contrary, confirmed by them, as I hope presently to shew. I shall proceed, however, on the principle that I have hitherto adopted, and draw my

authority from those writers who were contemporary, or nea so, with the flourishing period of the Greek drama.

And here, as a work almost exclusively devoted to subject of Greek tragedy, it is impossible to pass over *Poetics* of Aristotle. Now it must be admitted that in description of the different parts of tragedy, the Stagirite d not expressly mention dancing. But neither does he ment the acting of the tragedian. To a Greek mind the te *chorus* would just as necessarily imply the dancing of *choreutæ*, as that of *prologue, episode*, &c., would the g tures of the actor; and therefore it was equally superfluc especially in so short a treatise, to mention either. But th are passages in the work which clearly shew that Arist understood dancing to form a part of tragedy. Take following. Εἰσὶ δέ τινες (τέχναι) αἱ πᾶσι χρῶνται ι εἰρημένοις· λέγω δὲ, οἷον, ῥυθμῷ καὶ μέλει καὶ μέτρῳ· ὅσα ἥ τε τῶν διθυράμβων ποίησις, καὶ ἡ τῶν νόμων, καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία, καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία· διαφέρουσι δὲ ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἅμα πᾶ αἱ δὲ κατὰ μέρος. (§ γ'. Tyrwh.) Now it is plain from expression τοῖς εἰρημένοις that Aristotle is here using the wc *rhythm, melody*, and *metre*, in the same sense in which he employed them just previously, where ῥυθμός was used denote the motions of the dance, the adjunct of tune be expressly excluded. (See before, p. 230.) A further con mation is, that dancing was certainly used in the dithyrai and in the passage just quoted, that species of poetry represented as using the three combined arts of poetry, mu and dancing *throughout*; whereas tragedy and comedy- which last, I believe, no one has ever disputed that there dancing—are said to employ them unitedly only κατὰ μέρ meaning of course the choric parts. And in his last chap Aristotle uses the generic term μουσική (which we have s included dancing), instead of μελοποιΐα. (καὶ ἔτι οὐ μικ μέρος τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἔχει.)

I shall now proceed to shew from Aristophanes, as well from the internal evidence of some of the choruses themsel that dancing formed a part of tragedy. Before going any ther, however, it may be as well to settle the meaning wl we attach to the word *dancing* (ὄρχησις); for it may perhap objected that when we meet with this term applied to Greek chorus it does not mean dancing, properly so calle

that is to say, a movement of the legs and feet—but merely a kind of rhythmical gesticulation. It may be quite true that the term sometimes includes the gestures of the arms or head; but that motion of the feet and legs was the true and proper meaning of it may be shewn from Plato. That author, in a passage to which I have before alluded (*Leges*, b. VII. p. 814, D), prefaces his description of the different sorts of serious and comic dances with the following definition of the word ὄρχησις. "Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης κινήσεως παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἧς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὄρχησιν τινὰ τὶς ἂν προσαγορεύων, ὀρθῶς ἂν φθέγγοιτο," κ.τ.λ. Here we have dancing defined to be, a *movement of the whole body*, which in common parlance may be taken, I presume, to include the legs and feet. By its connection with what follows, this passage shews that the movement of the legs took place in the serious dances, as the *Emmeleia*, &c. Indeed, every thing tends to shew that the Greeks danced vivaciously, and not with the lazy, sauntering air of a modern fine gentleman walking through the figure of a *quadrille*. I have before cited a passage from Homer's *Hymn to Apollo*, in which that deity is represented as capering high in air (ὕψι βιβάς). In the *Odyssey* (lib. VIII. 264) Ulysses is described as admiring the *twinkling* feet of the dancers:

——— αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
Μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν, θαύμαζε δὲ θυμῷ—

An expression, by the way, which shews that music, as well as dancing, must have attained to considerable execution even at that early period; for it would have been impossible to dance so quickly to a slow tone.

A preliminary difficulty with regard to the tragic choruses might be, that several of them were composed of old men, as in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus and the *Antigone* of Sophocles. Here something must be allowed to the judgment of the poet (or of his χοροδιδάσκαλος), who was of course at liberty to suit the character of the dance to that of the chorus: yet dancing was not considered by the Greeks as ridiculous or degrading even in old men. Plato, who would banish tragedy from his ideal republic, allows, nay encourages, dancing in old men up to the age of sixty, and would have them drink wine that they may throw aside all reserve, and infuse more liveliness into their movements. (*Leges*, lib. II. p. 664, fol.) So the aged

prophet Tiresias prepares for the dance in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides:

> *οὐ γὰρ διῄρηχ' ὁ θεὸς εἴτε τὸν νεόν*
> *ἐχρῆν χορεύειν εἴτε τὸν γεραίτερον·*
> *ἀλλ' ἐξ ἁπάντων βούλεται τιμὰς ἔχειν*
> *κοινάς.* V. 206.

And in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes old men are described as partaking in the dance:

> *γόνυ πάλλεται γερόντων*
> *ἀποσείονται δὲ λύπας*
> *χρονίους τ' ἐτῶν παλαιῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς*
> *ἱερᾶς ὑπὸ τιμᾶς.* V. 345.

Socrates himself was not ashamed to dance, but, on the contrary, speaks in high praise of the exercise. (Xenop. *Symp.* c. 2.) As to the ridicule of it, that is a matter of taste; and it would surely be quite as ridiculous, perhaps more so, to behold a body of old men making a set of extravagant gestures in concert, as to see them leading off a dance, which the audience from their earliest years had been accustomed to associate with ideas of gravity, and even of religion.

But to come to facts. There is a scene in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, which not only proves incontestably that dances were performed by the tragic chorus, thus bearing out the testimony of Athenæus and the rest; but which also shews that the mode of dancing, in the time of Æschylus at least, was by no means of the gentlest. In the last scene of that play, Xanthias announces that his master Philocleon, being rather the worse for liquor, is about to give a specimen of dancing, such as it was in the days when he was young; and to shew that the later professors of the art were but dolts in comparison of Thespis and Phrynichus:

> *ὁ γὰρ γέρων ὡς ἔπιε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου*
> *ἤκουσε τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρὴς τῷ πράγματι*
> *ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται*
> *τἀρχαῖ' ἐκεῖν' οἷς Θέσπις ἠγωνίζετο·*
> *καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς φησιν ἀποδείξειν Κρόνους*
> *τοὺς νῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.* V. 1476.

I do not apprehend that any difficulty will be made about the word *τραγῳδός*. Ammonius tells us, that it may be used both of one of the chorus and of an actor; and that it sometimes

stands for the poet himself. (κωμῳδός καὶ τραγῳδὸς λέγεται ὁ χορευτὴς καὶ ὑποκριτής· κωμῳδοποιὸς δὲ καὶ τραγῳδοποιὸς, οἱ ποιηταί· ἐνίοτε δὲ συγχέουσι τὴν διαφοράν.—p. 86, Valckn.) In the last sense it is used by Diphilus in a fragment preserved by Athenæus. (Lib. VI. p. 223, b.) In the present scene, Aristophanes applies it both to the *choreutæ* and to the tragic poet: in the former sense to two of the sons of Carcinus; in the latter, to Thespis and Phrynichus, who, like Æschylus, taught their choruses to dance. But to proceed. Philocleon himself now rushes on the stage, and, amid occasional interruptions from his saucy slave, exclaims—

καὶ δὴ γὰρ
σχήματος ἀρχὴ
πλευρὰν λυγίσαντος ὑπὸ ῥώμης
οἷον μυκτὴρ μυκᾶται καὶ
σφόνδυλος ἀχεῖ V. 1484.

Pretty hard work! The ribs bending, the nostrils snorting, the vertebræ cracking. Such was the style of Thespis. That of his successor, Phrynichus, the contemporary of Æschylus, was as lively:—

πτήσσει Φρύνιχος ὥς τις ἀλέκτωρ
σκέλος οὐράνιόν γ' ἐκλακτίζων.

Here, at all events, gesticulation is out of the question. The legs are made use of, and that in a way which would charm the heart of a modern ballet-master. But perhaps it may be said, that this only brings us down to the time of Phrynichus; and that the dancing may have been abolished by Æschylus, amongst the other reforms which he introduced into the theatre. This argument, however, or rather conjecture, will not serve the purpose; for, had that been so, how could the old gentleman in the *Wasps*, a play brought out upwards of thirty years after the death of Æschylus, proceed to challenge the degenerate tragedy-dancers of his latter days, as in the following lines:—

ΦΙ. φέρε νυν ἀνείπω κἀνταγωνιστὰς καλῶ·
εἴ τις τραγῳδὸς φησιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καλῶς
ἐμοὶ διορχησόμενος ἐνθάδ' εἰσίτω—
φησίν τις ἢ οὐδείς; ΒΔ. εἷς γ' ἐκεινοσὶ μόνος.
ΦΙ. τίς ὁ κακοδαίμων ἐστίν; ΒΔ. υἱὸς Καρκίνου
ὁ μέσατος. ΦΙ. ἀλλ' οὗτός γε καταποθήσεται.

ἀπολῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐμμελείᾳ κονδύλου·
ἐν τῷ ῥυθμῷ γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστ'.

Now here we see the *Emmeleia* directly alluded to, thou in a punning manner, as the tragic dance, just as Athenæus a the other authorities have told us that it was. From the wh context of the passage, too, the word ῥυθμός can here refer nothing but dancing; a signification which we have alrea seen that it may possess. The general inference from the sce is, that dancing formed a part of tragic performances, many years at least after the death of Æschylus, though pos bly in a rather more subdued style than in the earlier period the drama; though we may not, indeed, be justified in dra ing this last conclusion from the words of Philocleon alo which might be intended for that exaggeration into which age naturally falls when talking of the scenes of youth.

There remains but one more point to notice, and that is, internal evidence afforded by the tragic, and other choral od which have come down to us. Now, assuming that mu and dancing were their invariable accompaniments, we mi reasonably expect to find them occasionally—but only oc sionally—alluded to. They would for the most part pass, matters of course, without notice. Now, this is just what find with regard to the music, which I am not aware that a one has yet disputed to have been the invariable accompa ment of the tragic chorus at least. It is exactly the same w the dancing. To prove this point, the following passag have been selected. They are not the only ones, but they the most direct; and will therefore save encumbering the pa with useless citations.

To begin with the youngest of the dramatic triad, Euripid In the *Electra* we find the chorus speaking as follows:

θὲς εἰς χορόν, ὦ φίλα, ἴχνος,
ὡς νεβρὸς οὐράνιον
πήδημα κουφίζουσα σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ. V. 859.

Here we have again the οὐράνιον σκέλος of old Philocle And a line or two further on, a reference to a custom scribed by Lucian (*De Saltat.* § 30), of singing to the dance

ἀλλ' ἐπάειδε
Καλλίνικον ᾠδὰν ἐμῷ χορῷ.

So, too, in the *Hercules Furens* of the same poet, the chorus of Theban *old men* exhort one another to dance in the following direct terms:

ΗΜΙΧΟΡ. γέροντες, οὐκέτ' ἔστι δυσσεβὴς ἀνὴρ
σιγᾷ μέλαθρα· πρὸς χοροὺς τραπώμεθα. V. 760.

And they then strike up the chorus, beginning:

χοροὶ, χοροὶ, καὶ θαλίαι μέλουσι Θή—
βας ἱερὸν κατ' ἄστυ.

In a previous ode, the same chorus affirm that they are not too old to dance and sing, and that they will not yet bid adieu to the Muses, who had accustomed them to dance:

οὔπω καταπαύσομεν
Μούσας, αἵ μ' ἐχόρευσαν. V. 685.

We need not trouble ourselves with other passages in Euripides. In the *Ajax* of Sophocles, the following is conclusive:

φάνηθ' ὦ
θεῶν χοροποιὸ ἄναξ, ὅπως μοι
Νύσια Κνώσι' ἀρχήματ' αὐτοδαῆ ξυνὼν ἰάψῃς.
νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορεῦσαι.

A version of this passage, in one of those literal translations made for the benefit of students, is calculated to mislead those who are not well versed in Greek. It is rendered "For now I *wish* to dance." Μέλει never had, nor can have that sense. It means, "for it is *now* my business, or my care, to dance." And this agrees with what goes before—"Appear, O Pan, that you *may* join in the dance"—not—"I wish you would appear that you *might*," &c. There are other passages to the same effect in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*.

If dancing has been proved in the plays of Euripides and Sophocles, we need be less solicitous about Æschylus. Here it would follow, *à fortiori*, even had there been no evidence. But there is evidence. The χορὸν ἄψωμεν of the *Eumenides* (v. 307) is directly to the point, and unmistakeable.

That dancing and music accompanied the epinician odes of Pindar, as well as those of the tragic chorus, may be inferred from several passages in his poems. I shall content myself with citing one.

Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων
σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾶς ἀκούει μὲν βάσις, ἀγλαΐας ἀρχὰ,
πείθονται δ' ἀοιδοὶ σάμασιν, κ.τ.λ. 1 *Pyth.* 1.

The fact of singing and dancing is here designated in manner that it would be difficult to controvert.

THOMAS DYE

XXI.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW AND GREEK LEXICONS.

In No. CL. of the *Quarterly Review* there is a criticism upon four different Greek Lexicons, among which mine is included, and a comparison instituted between them. If a preference had been simply given to the Oxford Lexicon, without depreciating mine below its real value, as I presume to think has been done, and if the author of the criticism had been always correct in his animadversions, I would have submitted in silence, and allowed the public to judge between us. But I have found, as I hope to be able to shew, various misrepresentations and incorrect translations of passages referred to, evincing neither a spirit of candour nor specimens of accurate scholarship.

I feel indebted to the reviewer for the compliments he has paid to me personally; but it appears to me that he has in a great measure neutralized them by some of his subsequent observations.

I do not hesitate to concur with the author of the review in thinking that the general plan of the Oxford Lexicon is superior to mine. I had not the good fortune to have such a foundation as Passow's Lexicon on which to raise a superstructure. The late Mr. Barker engaged me to co-operate with him in improving and adding to an edition of Schrevelius' Lexicon, published in America. It was not such a one as should have been adopted, as it was meagre, imperfect, and, in hundreds of instances, incorrect. Mr. Barker was an able scholar, but no lexicographer. The articles he furnished were totally unsuitable for a lexicon; I was, therefore, left to make the best of the work I could, almost unassisted, and under many disadvantages. To have altered the arrangement would have been to compose an entirely new work, which neither my time nor my inclination would permit me to attempt. But, however preferable the arrangement of the Oxford Lexicon may be, I am not disposed to allow that the plan I have followed merits the censures of

the reviewer. I even think that in many instances it has its advantages. For what is the use of a Greek and English Lexicon to students? It is not to make them critics, or to enable them to write the language. The latter object will be better attained by an *English and Greek Lexicon*. But it is to give such explanations of words, founded no doubt upon their use in the best authors, as shall enable students to comprehend the meaning of the authors they are reading. Now, whether this is best done by giving a series of meanings, beginning with the *primary*, and then noting in order the *secondary* or *metaphorical;* or by *subdivisions*, with references in each to authorities, may admit of some doubt. In the former instance, the student has the different interpretations, in a regular series, under his eye, and can, therefore, more readily fix upon that which may seem to him to explain the meaning of the author, than be obliged to hunt after it through a long maze of quotations and authorities. The former plan requires order as well as the latter. From the circumstance already mentioned, I found it almost impossible to make such an arrangement in many instances as I was perfectly aware was both proper and necessary.

In giving authorities for the *primary* meaning of words, I by no means think that the *poets* are the best sources from which to obtain it. Their language in general, as every one acquainted with poetry must allow, is highly figurative and metaphorical. It seems to me, therefore, a mistaken idea to go back to Homer and Hesiod for the primary meaning of many terms, and altogether useless, if not hurtful, to adopt a chronological order in references to Greek authors.

Having made these general observations, I shall now proceed to notice some of the criticisms of the reviewer upon particular words. Referring to ἔγχος, and the explanations given in the Lexicon, he says, "Now here we have no distinction whatever between the different significations, between the older and later use of the word: no author quoted to shew when it was used as a spear and when it took the additional meaning of a sword," &c. The general meaning of a *spear* occurs so often in Homer, and indeed in almost every one of the Greek authors, that it might seem unnecessary to refer it to any one in particular. I shall pass over ἁγνῶς with the acknowledgment that the active and passive sense of the adjec-

tive ought to have been more distinctly pointed out. On the meaning of ἄγριος in *Il.* xix. 20, the reviewer says, "But what shall we say of *troublesome* as the epithet of the flies around the dead body of Patroclus? We can only say that this cannot be the meaning of ἄγριος either in Homer or elsewhere." If the reviewer supposes that ἄγριος in the passage referred to can be translated *wild restlessness*, he will, I should suppose, get few scholars to support his opinion. Homer's words are, τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ πειρήσω ἀλαλκεῖν ἄγρια φῦλα μυιάς. "*Therefore I shall endeavour to keep off the* wild restlessness *of the tribes of the* blue-bottles!" It will be observed that Homer uses the plural φῦλα; consequently there must have been other descriptions of flies besides the *blue-bottles* attempting to fasten upon the body of the fallen hero. Looking in this way at the passage, I should suppose that a competent judge would be inclined to give the preference of *troublesome* to ἄγρια before that of *wild restlessness*. Again, he adds, "It does certainly appear that the professor is not happy in his translation of Homeric epithets, for within a page or two we find ἀεσίφρων (*Il.* xx. 183) translated *inconstant*, for no other reason that we can see (and it is no reason at all) but because it is preceded by and opposed to ἔμπεδος." I beg to return the reviewer's compliment, that he is here *napping*. To any one who will take the trouble to examine the passage, it will appear that ἀεσίφρων is opposed to ἔμπεδος, and is contrasted with that epithet; the latter denoting that Priam *will hold* to his purpose to support his sons, and that he is not *fickle* or *inconstant* in changing that purpose in favour of one of a rival family. Is that not a sufficient reason for translating ἀεσίφρων *inconstant?* The Oxford Lexicon has no reference at all to this passage, or to the proper meaning of the term. "Again, ἀήσυλος (*Il.* v. 876) is rendered *troublesome, unjust*. We hope the professor will not think us *troublesome* for remarking, that he seems to have an unfortunate partiality for this term." Whatever be my thoughts as to the epithet, it will not be difficult to shew that the reviewer has acted unfairly in the remark he has made upon the translation. I have stated in the Lexicon, "ἀήσυλος, η, ον, troublesome, unjust, and by the poets (it is, however, used by Plato, *Menex.* 243, D.), the same with ἀτερπής, παράνομος. ἤτ' αἰὲν ἀήσυλα ἔργα μέμηλεν (*Il.* v. 876)." Now the quotation here is not after *troublesome*, but after παράνομος; or, passing over

the synonymous terms, after *unjust*. It should, therefore, be held in fairness to be expressed by *unjust*, and that I hold to be its meaning in the quotation from Homer. Liddell and Scott give *wicked* merely, and refer to the passage. I should, therefore, suppose that what is *unjust* must be *wicked*, and *vice versâ*. "All this is very slip-slop, very useless." It is something worse in the reviewer, when his remarks are both uncandid and unfair. "Still worse is ἀζήμιος (Thucyd. II. 37), *harmless*, but judiciously rendered by Liddell and Scott, 'not amounting to punishment.'" Can these gentlemen and the reviewer really have read the passage in Thucydides? The meaning as given in the Oxford Lexicon is *arrant nonsense*. The passage is quoted and translated by the late Dr. Arnold, who has given the very same meaning to ἀζημίους as I have done in my Lexicon—καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονήν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μέν, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι—thus translated by Arnold: "And as to any mutual jealousy of each other's pursuits and habits, we are not angry with our neighbour for pleasing himself; nor wearing a look of offence, which, though *harmless* in effect, is yet troublesome and painful." The reviewer would do well to consult the observations of the learned editor on the word ἀζημίους in the same note. Towards the end of the article on the Oxford Lexicon, it is stated, "There are adjectives, however, and they are a numerous class, which this mode of explanation will not suit; as ἀδάμαστος, untamed, or untameable." In the reference at the bottom of the page, the reviewer says, glorifying himself, "How different from the unscholarlike maze which Dunbar has made of this simple word. He says, *unconquered, indomitable, stout-hearted,—unsubdued, invincible, &c.*" Notwithstanding this flippant remark, I am decidedly of opinion that *untamed* is not the original meaning of the adjective. A wild animal must first be *subdued* before he can be *tamed;* and hence the primary meaning of ἀδάμαστος is, *unsubdued, unconquered.* The reviewer, I presume, would translate the following passage of Theocritus (*Idyll.* xv. 5) ὦ τᾶς ἀδαμάτω ψυχᾶς, O! what an *untamed*, or *untameable* heart have I! He would be a miserable teacher who would admit of such a translation from any of his pupils. Liddell and Scott give under the word, "(δαμάω) epithet of Hades, *inexorable* (*Il.* XIX. 158); later in

the same sense, *untamed, unbroken,* ἵππος (Xen.)" They have given a *secondary* meaning, and a very unusual one first, probably, because it was found in Homer, and not given the *primary* meaning at all. The reviewer says, that "in ἐγέρσιμος, the Professor has falsely translated a passage from Theocritus." He does not inform us why he considers it false. Probably he thinks that the Oxford lexicographers have translated it right. Let us hear what they say: "ἐγέρσιμος, ον, (ἐγείρω), waking, easily waked, ἐγ. ὕπνος, sleep *from which one wakes,* opp. to the sleep of death. (Theocr.)" I have translated it, "from which one may wake up; light, gentle, refreshing, *as sleep,* ἐγέρσιμος ὕπνος, refreshing sleep. (Theocr. *Idyll.* XXIV. 7.)" The words of Theocritus are, εὕδετ', ἐμὰ βρέφεα, γλυκερὸν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον. According to Liddell and Scott's interpretation, "Sleep, my babes, a sweet and *easily waked* sleep!" If this is not slipslop, to use the elegant language of the reviewer, I know not what is. Ἀλλοτρίωσις. "I. *A giving up to the enemy.* (Thucyd. x. 38.)" This is quite incorrect. I have quoted the same passage, and given, "rejection *or* loss—οὐχ ὁμοία ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις." Arnold has translated, "it is not the same thing to decline it." Better, perhaps, "the declination is not the same." Ἀκρᾱγὴς, Dr. Maltby and the Oxford lexicographers make the penult of this adjective *short.* In the only passage, I believe, where it occurs (*scil.* Æschyl. *Prom.* 828) the quantity cannot be ascertained, from the position it occupies in the line, Ὀξυστόμους γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας. They have given the short quantity, as deriving the compound from the second aor. of the verb κράζω (ἔκρᾰγον). But I have observed that, in most instances, where the *perfect* is in use, formed from the original *present,* the derivation is taken from it, and preserves the quantity of its penult. Thus Æschyl. (*S. Th.* 2.) has πρᾱγος, from πέπρᾱγα,—Ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾱγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως. So, I apprehend, ἀκρᾱγὴς should have the penult long, as being derived from κέκρᾱγα, and not from ἔκρᾰγον.

I might now, in imitation of the reviewer, contrast some of the articles in my Lexicon with similar ones in Messrs. Liddell and Scott's; but this mode of comparison can scarcely be considered fair, as it may happen that the same article in the one may be very much superior, while the majority in the other may be better done. The reader may compare the meagre account of αἴητος, in the Oxford Lexicon, with what I have

stated upon it in the Addenda. ἀμβροτοπώλου is strangel translated, "*with coursers of immortal strain* (Epith. of Artemis Eurip. *Tro.* 536)." The line runs thus, χάριν ἄζυγος ἀμβροτοπώλου, and should be translated, *the glory of the unmarrie divine young maid.* It is stated, in the Oxford Lexicon, tha "ἂν never begins a sentence." This is a strange assertion, no peculiar, however, to Messrs. Liddell and Scott. Demosthene (περὶ Στεφ.) has, near the commencement of his speech, Ἃ δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω. So, also, ἂν μέντο πεισθῆτέ μοι, and in innumerable other places. In such cases ἂν has the same power as ἐὰν, and points to no previous *condi tional* statement, but to a future *contingency.* I think I ma venture to assert that I was the first to call the attention o scholars to this particle, and to endeavour to ascertain its deri vation and meaning. The Oxford lexicographers have, lik many others, confounded the enclitic ἄρα with the interroga tive ἆρα. They say, "ἆρα, interrog. particle, Lat. *Num,* in accen and signification a stronger form of ἄρα." It is impossible tha this can be correct, as the quantity of the first syllable of th one is *short,* of the other *long.* Besides, their meaning is totall different. (See observations upon it in the Addenda, p. 1270. The explanation of the article ἄρνος is very defective. I hav added, "a black lamb was sacrificed at the appearance of storm. ἄρν', ἄρνα μέλαιναν, παῖδες, ἐξενέγκατε; a lamb, a blacl lamb, lads, bring forth. (Aristoph. *Ran.* 847.) So also Vir gil (*Æn.* III. 120), Nigram hiemi pecudem, zephyris felicibu albam." Βάκχειος, under division III. 2, is translated, "*Th conduct of a Bacchante.*" (Æschyl. *Cho.* 698.)[1] This migh fall under the reviewer's censure of *carelessness.* The line are:—

> Νῦν δ', ἥπερ ἐν δόμοισι βακχείας καλῆς
> Ἴατρος ἐλπὶς ἦν, παροῦσαν ἐγγράφει.

I have given Peile's translation, which appears to me incor rect, and have subjoined my own. "But now the hope whicl cheered (healed) my sorrows in the house of splendid revelr (not, *splendid conduct of a Bacchante*), gives the sign-manua of its presence; viz. *in allusion to the presence of Orestes, i whom all her* (Electra's) *hopes were centred.*" Let the reade

[1] In the second edition of their Lexicon, the editors have given the correct trans lation: "*Bacchic frenzy or revelry.*"

next compare the two accounts of δυσηλεγὴς, and then say which is the more correct. The Oxford editors have fallen into the common error of deriving the latter part of the word from λέγω, which they translate, *to lay asleep;* and hence they infer that δυσηλεγὴς signifies, *lying in a hard bed.* Under λέγω they say, "Orig. signif., to LAY, Germ. LEGEN, and in pass. to LIE, Germ. LIEGEN; hence all the other significations may be derived, so that it is needless, as Buttm. *Lexil.* in v. does, to assume a separate root, λέχω, for this signification." I know of no good example in any Greek author where λέγω signifies *to lay.* I have no doubt that Buttmann was quite correct in referring λέξον (*Il.* XXIV. 635), λέξεται (*Il.* XV. 131), and λέξομαι (*Odyss.* XVII. 102), to λέχω; and the noun λέχος, *a bed,* confirms this opinion. (See λέχω in the Addenda, p. 1281.)

Under the preposition ἐπὶ I have pointed out a construction, either not noticed or not understood by every lexicographer and editor of the classics that I have consulted; viz. that, *with a verb of motion, it governs the* genitive *of the noun,* when it is signified *that the person or persons are proceeding* to their own home, *or* to a friendly place. I am persuaded, from numerous examples, that this construction was uniformly observed, by the Attic writers at least. In the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, v. 628, the feigned merchant says, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμ' ἐπὶ ναῦν. This, according to the usual construction, would be, *But I shall go against the ship,* or, *to the ship of another person*; instead of, *to our,* or *my* ship. The reading should be, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμι πρὸς ναῦν, just as we have at v. 132, when Ulysses says, ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ναῦν εἶμι. And, again, Neoptolemus says to Philoctetes, νῦν δ' εἶμι πρὸς ναῦν (v. 464). There is a similar construction of ἐπὶ at the end of a verse in Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 555, equally incorrect. Œdipus asks Creon,—

> ἔπειθες, ἢ οὐκ ἔπειθες, ὡς χρείη μ' ἐπὶ
> τὸν σεμνόμαντιν ἄνδρα πέμψασθαί τινα.

This is the only passage, I believe, in Sophocles where ἐπὶ is construed with πέμπω, either in the active or middle voice. The only prepositions employed with it are εἰς and πρός. Elmsley proposed to change the reading to μετὰ, in consequence of the middle voice, πέμψασθαι, being used. But the reading ought to be:—

> ὡς χρείη με πρὸς
> τὸν σεμνόμαντιν, κ. τ. λ.

The preposition is properly construed with the *accusative*, in the following passage of the same play (v. 455):—

ξένην ἐπὶ
γαῖαν ἐμπορεύσεται,

because Œdipus was doomed to travel to a *foreign* land.

I might point out several other articles, in which I have endeavoured to shew that not only the Oxford lexicographers are incorrect, but also Hermann, Buttmann, Matthiæ, and others. In what I have stated in vindication of myself, I would not be understood as undervaluing the labours of Messrs. Liddell and Scott. They have produced a good lexicon; and, notwithstanding the aid they received from Passow, their additions indicate great industry, laborious research, general accuracy, and respectable scholarship. They possessed many advantages which did not fall to my lot. The united labours of *three* seem to have been employed to accomplish the work. I received no assistance whatever in the Greek and English part; and the time employed upon it was limited to six months in the year, the other six being wholly occupied by laborious professional duties. Their work proceeds from a university long famed for elegant scholarship and high pretensions, whose name and influence may be supposed to give the stamp of authority to every thing that emanates from it. Mine, from one—

Cirrha procul et Permesside lympha
Pene sub Arctoï sidere nata poli.

It is no wonder, then, that their volume should have cleared the field of England of almost all its competitors, supported, as it may be supposed, independent of its merits, by many scholars attached to the *genius loci*.

Before concluding, I must refer to a circumstance connected with the English and Greek part of the Lexicon. When Dr. Giles's was published, I was surprised to find that the English and Greek part was, to a great extent, borrowed from the one that went under the title of *Dunbar and Barker's Greek and English and English and Greek Lexicon*. I applied to Messrs. Longman and Co., the publishers of Giles's work, for explanation. They communicated with the Doctor upon the subject, and he informed me that he had *purchased* the right of making use of the second part from Mr. Barker. That gentleman, then recently deceased, had, no doubt, an interest in that edi-

tion of the work; but he had no right to dispose of any part of it without first obtaining my consent and that of the publishers, which he never asked. As I was on the point of bringing out a new edition of the work, greatly enlarged in both parts, I did not think it necessary to interfere with Dr. Giles, as it did not appear that he was to blame in any part of the transaction.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

College of Edinburgh,
June, 1845.

P.S. Since the above was written, a second edition of the Oxford Lexicon has appeared. The editors have repeated the errors in the first edition, as noticed above, with only one exception.

G. D.

XXII.

ON THE GUARDIANSHIP ACCOUNTS OF DEMOSTHENES[1].

Among all the commentaries on the Orations of Demosthenes, there is no subject which has been treated in a more unsatisfactory manner than the explanation of the speeches against the guardians. The figures, upon which the question mainly depends, have been taken down in perfect confidence from MSS. of small value, and editions of early date. Notwithstanding the Cod. Σ, which is elsewhere usually followed, gives explicitly, and that in a passage of importance (*Aphob.* II. § 13), τριά τάλαντα for πέντε τάλαντα, still the Vulgate was retained; the capital and interest at 12 per cent., together with 3 more talents and 10 minæ, did not amount in ten years to much more than 10 talents: how was that? this was a point which was left undetermined. Reiske, however, acted differently, having at least the candour to allow: "I cannot rightly find my way out of this account. This will often be the case. By my calculation I do not get out more than 4 talents and 18 minæ. I will sum it up, &c. &c. Aye, but I first of all perceive that he afterwards reckons the house by itself. As I said above, I cannot fight my way through very clearly." (*German Translation*, vol. IV. p. 167.) On Aphob. I. 10, τέτταρα τάλαντα καὶ πεντακισχίλιας. "It comes to much more," &c. &c. (*Ibid.* p. 183.) "Aye, but Demosthenes forgets the 77 minæ." (*Ibid.* p. 186.) At one time μάλιστα must mean more, at another less than the given sum: in order to get out of his difficulties, Reiske makes his calculations now at 12 per cent. per annum, now at 18 per cent. "Usura hæc est sesquidrachmalis; sed vel sic quoque non satis constat ratio. Nam," &c. (*Id.* ad. p. 825, 25.) He also confounds the taxable capital with the rents. (*Translation*, p. 200.) The contradiction con-

[1] The following paper was published last year in the *Rheinisches Museum, für Philologie*, neue folge, vol. III. p. 434—446, and has been translated into English by C. K. Watson, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

tained in the accounts of the first and second orations against Aphobus seemed to be settled, without any doubts as to their authenticity. "Sed quid laboramus (says H. Wolf on p. 824, 16, with great naïveté), ubi nobis neque seritur neque metitur? Fides istarum rationum sit penes Demosthenem et judices hujus controversiæ. Nostrum est verba auctoris interpretari ut quimus (corrupta si sunt) quando ut volumus non licet."

But how can a man explain these orations without understanding the accounts contained in them? Whether the figures in the items and amounts quoted by Demosthenes, and so frequently recurring, are erroneously written, will be shewn further on. I shall have to mention with gratitude particular corrections which Seager (in the *Classical Journal*, LVIII. p. 365) and Schaefer have made in opposition to Reiske.

One main contradiction is removed at once if we distinguish the account of Demosthenes from that of the guardians. Manifest as this has been made by the orator (*Aphob.* I. 34—39. Ἔτι τοίνυν . . . παρὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀποφέρουσιν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ λαβεῖν ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἐπιδείξω, etc.), yet as little attention has been paid to the fact that very recently (p. 816, § 9) ἠξίουν, *i.e.* "they (the guardians) thought it necessary to lay on so much tax," has been translated "I thought." Finally, in the calculation of the interest, attention has not been paid to the terminus a quo; all have been alike taken at ten years.

If, however, the several parts be distinguished, if the money refunded be deducted from what is still due, as it naturally ought to be, and as Demosthenes clearly does (for example, see *Aphob.* I. 6, &c., 36, &c.), we shall arrive at the following perfectly clear accounts.

TABLE I.

THE INTEREST IS CALCULATED, ἐπὶ δραχμῇ, *i.e.*

1 drach. per month on 1 min. (= 100 dr.)

1 per cent. per month = 12 per cent. per annum.

In ten years the capital will be increased by $1\frac{1}{3}$.

1 talent (= 60 min.) brings in 720 dr. = $7\frac{1}{3}$ min. per annum, and in ten years 72 minæ. (Comp. *Aph.* I. 9, end.)

1 talent brings in 72 min. (= $1\frac{1}{3}$ talent) in ten years.

Observation 1.—Onetor, as a particular act of friendship, allowed Timocrates to put his sister's dowry out to interest ἐπὶ πέντ' ὀβολοῖς (per month, *i.e.* 10 per cent. per annum). (*Adv. Onetor.* § 7.) But this cannot be applied to the rate of interest

on Demosthenes' property, which the orator calculates ἐπι δραχμῇ, as he frequently expressly states, although he might calculate his mother's dowry at ἐπ' ἐννέ' ὀβολοῖς (*i.e.* 18 per cent. per annum), as he assures us. (*Aphob.* I. 17.)

Observation 2.—The management.—Schmeisser (*De Re Tutelari*, p. 12) asserts that Demosthenes' father wished the management of the property to be conducted conjointly by the three guardians, because in *Aph.* II. 15, we read ἐμὲ δὲ πᾶσι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων παρακατατιθέμενος. But, at any rate, it does not follow from this passage that they also did so. If they had leased the estate (τὸν οἶκον), as the father directed, the trouble attending the management was not in other respects great. But we have proof of a separate management in *Aphob.* I. 36, &c.

It seems that Aphobus had the management of the knife-manufactory for the space of two years, Therippides for seven years[2]. Besides, as Aphobus has to replace for himself alone the dowry (which, with about ten years' interest, amounts to nearly 3 talents), he would have been forced to pay as much as 10 talents more (which is the third of the entire claim made upon the guardians), making in all about 13 talents. But throughout there is only a trifle more than 10 talents demanded of him. In Aph. I. 67, the ἐπωβελία is put down at 100 minæ, consequently the claim upon him was six times as much, or 10 talents. (See *Aphob.* II. 13. 18, III. end.)

TABLE II.

Amount of the property according to the assessment made by the Guardians.

Aph. I. 7, comp. II. 4. The guardians impose a tax of 500 dr. (= 5 minæ. *Aphob.* III. 59) upon every 25 minæ = $\frac{500}{2500} = \frac{1}{5}$.

Aph. 1. 9. Now since they take 3 talents as the taxable capital or timema, and this is $\frac{1}{5}$ of 15, it follows that the property (οὐσία) must have been equal to 15 talents.

Aph. I. 37. Of this assessment they paid a tribute (εἰσφορά) of 18 minæ, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{10}$ of the taxable capital, or $\frac{1}{50}$ of the property.

Compare Boeckh, *Economy of Ath.* p. 517, Eng. transl. 2nd edit.

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[2] For one year the factory must have been stopped.

TABLE III.

INVENTORY.

a. Working Property.

(1.) *Aph.* I. 9. Cutlers, from 32 to 33 in number, amount yearly to 30 minæ.

They represent a capital of ... ... 190 minæ

For 33 × $5\frac{3}{4}$ minæ = $189\frac{3}{4}$ minæ, in round numbers 190 minæ.

That Demosthenes valued one cutler at $5\frac{3}{4}$ minæ follows from the sum total quoted by him, 4 tal. 50 minæ.

For from			4	50 minæ
The sum for the chair-makers	0	40 min.		
„ of ready cash ...	0	1		
Deduct			1	40
Remainder ...			3	10
=			0	190

(2.) In *Aphob.* I. 9; III. 35. 20 chairmakers amounted yearly to 12 minæ. Comp. *Aph.* II. 12, pledged for 40

(3.) *Aph.* I. 9. Cash to the amount of about ... 60
bore yearly more than 7 minæ (that is, about $7\frac{1}{3}$), which was the trifling interest upon 1 talent.

Observation.—Demosthenes reckons this third item here under *a*, and not to the rubric *c*, not to the ἔκδοσις, because this cash was not laid out at the father's death.

Aph. I. 10. Sum total of working capital 4 60

Survey of the annual proceeds from *a*.

N.B.—We do not here take into consideration the deficit in these proceeds, caused by the fault of the guardians.

(1.) 30 minæ
(2.) 12
(3.) $7\frac{1}{3}$

$49\frac{1}{3}$ = (*Aph.* I. 10) nearly ... ... 50 minæ

Aph. I. 31. Bond-slave workmen:
(1.) Cutlers from 32 to 33
(2.) Chairmakers ... 20

above 50 workmen.

TABLE V.

ACCOUNT AGAINST APHOBUS, WITH THE SUMS OF INTEREST INSERTE[redacted]

Drawn up from Or. in Aphob. I.

a. Aphobus received ἰδίᾳ.

(1.) § 13 and 18. For the mother's dowry:—		
§ 13. Ornaments and tankards	50 mi[redacted]	
„ By sale of slaves	30	
For, from the sum total 80 — 50 = 30		
	80	
Interest upon these 80 minæ for nearly ten years (ἔτει δεκάτῳ, *Aph.* I. fin.), in round numbers for ten years	100	
N.B. The interest upon 80 minæ for ten entire years = 96 minæ. We may take it at about 90 minæ.[4]		
Aph. I. 17, nearly ...	3	0
(2.) § 18. The half of an annual rent of 30 minæ, from the knife-manufactory, during two years ...	30	
Interest thereon for eight years (exactly 2,880 drachmæ)	30	
Aphobus has ἰδίᾳ 3 talents 50 minæ.		
§ 23 nearly ...	4	0

b. Aphobus received κοινῇ.

(1.) § 24. Share in the item of chairmakers. Comp. III. 37.		
They were valued at	40 minæ	
Acquired 12 minæ per annum, hence in ten years	120	
	2	40

[4] Aphobus did not receive the dowry of 80 minæ at once immediately after the father's death, but, as appears from *Aph.* I. 13, comp. 35. he first had the tankards, which had been valued at 50 minæ, and then the ransom for the slaves, till the 80 minæ were made up. Now, although ten years are generally mentioned in round numbers, in speaking of the interest of this sum (III. 34, I. 17, where, however, one might join τῶν δέκ' ἐτῶν μάλιστα, comp. Obs. on Table VII. b), yet this was not the complete number of years; hence we read (I. end), Ἄφοβον δὲ μηδ' ἣν ἔλαβε προῖκ' ἐθέλοντ' ἀ[redacted]ο-δοῦναι καὶ ταῦτ' ἔτει δεκάτῳ. We [redacted]ust not confound with this the entire [redacted]en years of the guardianship during w[redacted]ch the guardians of Demosthenes had [redacted]he remaining property in their managem[redacted]nt, and (*Onet.* II. 14) it is very prop[redacted]ly observed ὅλοις ἔτεσι.... δέκα τἀμὰ [redacted]α-βὼν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος. (Aphobus.) By [redacted]ot making this distinction, people fi[redacted]a chronological discrepancy. (Comp. [redacted]e-beck, in the *Zeitschr. f. Alter.* 1828, [redacted]n. 39.)

f this sum, amounting nearly to 3 talents, there to Aphobus about 1 talent, or exactly ...			$53\frac{1}{3}$ min.
. Ivory, &c. &c., altogether amounting to l talent 20 minæ; of this, one-third comes to us, about			$26\frac{2}{3}$
Aph. II. 13, nearly	1	20	
. II. 13. Capital (according to Cod. Σ) ...	3	0	
hereon for ten years	3	36	
	7	56	
a. by *ἰδίᾳ*	3	50	
Sum	11	46	
Refunded (TABLE IV.)	1	29	
Still due ...	10	17	

Compare I. 67, II. 13. 18, III. 59. 60.

TABLE VI.

' AGAINST APHOBUS, WITH THE SUMS OF INTEREST APPENDED.

Drawn up from Or. in Aph. II.

Aphobus has:

. Dowry			80 minæ
. Knife-manufactory, during two years ...			30
. By item for chairmakers, $\frac{1}{3}$ } (See TABLE V. b. 2.) nearly }	1	20	
. By item for ivory, $\frac{1}{3}$[5] ...			
§ 13. Sum ...	3	10	
. By capital (according to Cod. Σ) ...	3	0	
. Interest on 3 talents in ten years ...	3	36	
Interest on the dowry, about	1	30	
„ knife-manufactory ...	0	30	
	11	46	
Deduct the sum refunded and laid out	1	29	
Still due ...	10	17	

Comp. TABLE V.

dges pronounce sentence only for the sum of 10 talents, emosthenes always claims, indefinitely, " more than s."

ı *Aph.* II. 13, *καὶ δισχιλίας* numerically, XX.) has been ore *Λέγε*, after *μάλιστα τάλαντον*, is manifest from the addition of the items in § 12, and from the sum given in § 13.

TABLE VII.

a. ACCOUNT OF THE GUARDIANS.

Drawn up from Aph. I. § 34—39.

Received:

§ 35.	Aphobus received	108 minæ			
	Therippides received	120			
	Demophon received	87			
	§ 37	5	15		
	Deduct, as not being received immediately after the father's death ...	1	17		
	Received immediately after the decease	3	58		
	Interest on 3 tal. 58 min. in ten years	4	45	60 drac	
	(§ 35[6].) Due	8	43	60	

Laid out:

§ 36.	Maintenance of orphans	1	17	n

This disbursement is covered by the proceeds which The pides received for seven years from the knife-manufactory the rate of 11 minæ annually, by which he robbed Demosth of 4 minæ per annum; for, when the manufactory was duced to one-half, it still continued to bring in 15 minæ annu (§§ 18 f. 36.)

§ 37.	Cash refunded by Aphobus and Therippides ...		31
	State imposts		18
	Set down at ...	1	0

Remains due, at least 7 talents.

b. SEPARATE ACCOUNT OF APHOBUS.

§ 39.	Acknowledged debt in capital (comp. § 35) to the amount of		108
	To this we must annex for interest ...		82
	§ 34 and § 39 ...	3	10

Observation.—108 minæ of capital make, in ten years,
129 60 dr. for interest.

3 57 60 dr. capital together with interest.

[6] *Aph.* I. 35. Towards the end we have, by a manifest error in transcribing (for we have only to add the items there given), χιλίας for τετρακισχιλίας emendation which I perceive has adopted by Mr. Sauppe.

But in § 34 we read, as the sum total, only τρία τάλαντα καὶ χιλίας. The entire sum of capital and interest I have notified on the margin of my Paris edition by "f. πεντακισχιλίας?" But we read in § 39, μάλιστα τρία τάλαντα καὶ χιλίας, for which one would at any rate have expected πλέον ἢ τρία τάλαντα, or (if the interest upon the whole capital is meant to be taken for ten years) μάλιστα τέταρτα τάλαντα, without καὶ χιλίας. But to make this conjecture were an act of great audacity, especially as all the MSS. are agreed in the numbers of both passages. It would be better, with one of the Florentine (59, 17), and probably with other accurately pointed MSS., to put a comma after μάλιστα, and to unite it with the preceding δέκ' ἐτῶν. So in Herodotus (VII. 22), ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα (comp. VII. 30, *In Aph.* I. § 17), one might join μάλιστα with the two figures, between which it is placed, but next to that with the sum of money. We could thus let καὶ χιλίας stand in both passages, but must assume that the reason why Demosthenes reckons so little interest in this place is, either because there were some of dead property among the capital of 108 minæ, which I do not believe to have been the case, as this distinction was not observed with the other guardians; or, which seems to me most probable, from § 35, where a difference is expressly made between the sums received immediately and later on; that Aphobus also had received, later on, a part of the 108 minæ which he allows having had, namely, a part of the dowry (30 minæ, see Table V.) and the two years' proceeds from the knife-manufactory (30 minæ, see ibid.).

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XXIII.

SUBURBS OF THE LEVITICAL CITIES.

Around each of the Levitical cities, suburbs, containing a certain measure of ground, were assigned to the Levites, "for their cattle, and for their goods, and for all their beasts." (Num. xxxv. 3.) The mode of expression used in Num. xxxv. 4, 5, to denote the measure of the suburbs, has, from its apparent contradiction, occasioned different opinions as to the extent of ground which the suburbs occupied. "And the suburbs of the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites shall reach, from the wall of the city and outward, a thousand cubits round about. And ye shall measure from without the city, on the east side, two thousand cubits; and on the south side, two thousand cubits; and on the west side, two thousand cubits; and on the north side, two thousand cubits: and the city shall be in the midst; this shall be to them the suburbs of the cities."

Le Clerc, in his commentary on these verses, supposes that the thousand cubits mentioned first were measured from the centre of the city. The word קיר, which in this place means "wall," he translates "centre;" and the two thousand cubits mentioned in the following verse, he understands as forming the length of each of the sides of a square inclosing suburbs and city; consequently, a line drawn from the centre of the city, at right-angles with any of the sides, would just measure one thousand cubits; or, in other words, a line from the centre, a thousand cubits in length, would circumscribe a circle exactly inclosed within a square whose sides were two thousand cubits in length; and he endeavours to support his view of the subject by referring to the circular form of many cities in ancient times. But if the cities were circular, to preserve uniformity, the suburbs also should have been circumscribed by a circular boundary; but this was not the case.

By assuming the centre of the city as the point from which the first measurement of one thousand cubits commences, and the other two thousand as the length of the sides bounding the

suburbs, in the case of cities two thousand cubits in diameter, the walls or houses would, in four parts of the circumference, touch the utmost boundary of the suburbs. But such an arrangement would not at all harmonize with the intended plan, and would render the suburbs of very small and quite insufficient extent. And, moreover, according to Le Clerc's explanation, if the diameter of the city were greater than two thousand cubits, the city would, most absurdly, extend beyond its own suburbs. But granting that such an absurdity could not take place, by the city never exceeding two thousand cubits in diameter, however less it might be, yet the larger the city the more confined would the suburbs be, and consequently, if we may suppose, as is reasonable, that a greater number of Levites would be in a large than in a small city, there would be least means of subsistence and accommodation where most was required.

Le Clerc was led into his erroneous view of the subject by assuming as indubitable, that the two thousand cubits mentioned in verse five are intended to denote the length of the lines bounding the suburbs, and forming a square, within which both city and suburbs were included; whereas they may be intended to denote the distance of these lines from the city.

The Septuagint version has two thousand cubits in the fourth as well as in the fifth verse.[1] The translator or translators of the Pentateuch must have known the extent of the suburbs. Josephus makes the extent of the suburbs the same.[2] Now it seems to me unreasonable to suppose that, on this subject, the Septuagint and Josephus should be incorrect. Although Josephus sometimes takes the liberty of deviating from the Scriptures on some points, to render his history more agreeable to his heathen readers[3]; and deviates into error sometimes, when

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[1] ἀπὸ τείχους τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἔξω δεσχιλίους πήχεις κύκλῳ.

[2] ἐκέλευε κατανεῖμαι τοῖς Λευίταις δεκὼ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλάς· τῆς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γῆς περιγράψαντας εἰς δισχιλίους πήχεις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖναι. (*Antiq.* lib. IV. p. 144, ed. Hud.)

[3] An example of his wish to accommodate his writings to the sentiments of the heathens. Speaking of Moses, he says: τοιοῦτος μὲν δή τις αὐτὸς ἡμῶν ὁ νομοθέτης, οὐ γόης, οὐδ' ἀπατεών, ἅπερ λοιδοροῦντες λέγουσιν ἀδίκως· ἀλλ' οἷον παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχοῦσιν τὸν Μίνω γεγονέναι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους νομοθέτας. (*Contra Apion.* lib. II. p. 1376.) Thus reducing Moses to a level with Minos and other legislators, who falsely ascribed their laws to the Gods.

he treats of matters relative to other nations, yet, in subjects in which he had an opportunity of acquiring particular and accurate knowledge, especially in what relates to his own country, he is allowed to merit the character of industry and fidelity. And this praise is given him by the learned Bochart, who, after mentioning some errors respecting foreign nations, which Josephus commits, says, "tot Josephi σφάλματα tam paucis verbis docent illi scriptori fidem non esse temere adhibendam, cum versatur in exoticis. Alioqui enim fatendum est nos illi plurimum eo nomine debere, quod suæ gentis historiam summa fide et sedulitate scripsit." (*Geog. Sac.* pars prior lib. II. c. 26.) From his situation in life, from education, acquirements, and particularly from his eminent erudition in what concerned the laws and regulations of his own nation; and from the manner in which he passed many years of his life, visiting almost every district and city of Palestine, Josephus was, in more than a common measure, well qualified to write respecting his native country, and especially on subjects that required topographical knowledge and an acquaintance with the legal and religious regulations of the Jews. He was eminently well versed in the erudition of his native country[4]. None, he observes, acquired among his countrymen the reputation of learning, but those who were deeply versed in the knowledge of their national laws, and could explain the full meaning of their sacred writings. (*Antiq.* lib. xx. p. 903.) Such knowledge had he acquired, even when a youth, that he was consulted, by the high priests and others, on points of Jewish law. (*Vita*, sect. 2.)

When we reflect on these circumstances in favour of his having been acquainted with the extent of the suburbs of the Levitical cities; and when he plainly states that they extended two thousand cubits from the walls, and, moreover, consider that at least some of the Levitical cities may, in his time, have retained their suburbs according to the mode prescribed by the law, I can with difficulty be persuaded that, on this point, Josephus is incorrect. It may be said that here, as in other places, he merely copies the Septuagint; but he does not follow that version everywhere, and on a particular subject, with which there is every thing in favour of the opinion that he was well

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[4] ἐγὼ γὰρ ὡμολογούμην παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον παιδείαν διαφέρειν. (*Antiq.* lib. xx. p. 903.)

acquainted, he had not the smallest imaginable inducement to follow it implicitly, in preference to his own knowledge. However, the Septuagint translators must surely have been acquainted with the extent of the suburbs. But if, following the Septuagint, Josephus had interpreted as some commentators in their interpretation of the Hebrew text, he would have extended the suburbs four thousand cubits, instead of two thousand, from the walls, by combining the numbers mentioned in the fourth and fifth verses. That he does not always agree with the Septuagint has been shewn[5].

Maimonides says, the suburbs of the cities of the Levites were three thousand cubits on every side, from the walls of the city and outward. The former one thousand were the suburbs, and the latter two thousand were for fields and vineyards. (Lightfoot's Works, II. 286, folio ed.) Here we have the learned Maimonides against the learned Josephus. But in favour of the interpretation of the passage given by Josephus, there is the pre-eminent advantage of his having been an inhabitant of the country, fully acquainted with it, and living before the Jewish polity was wholly subverted and the nation broken up and dispersed into individuality. Maimonides was also learned in the knowledge appertaining to his country and its laws and customs, as far as books could inform him, when the Jewish nation, as a combined body politic, and its laws and customs, existed only in a pictural image in history. But to Josephus these appeared in real existence before him, breathing, as it were, and acting around him in vital form and operation, though not in the same fulness and vigour as formerly; he was, therefore, better qualified than Maimonides to decide on a matter depending on the political and religious institutions of his country; and which, when obscurity existed, if at that time there was any obscurity or ambiguity in the mode of expression used in the original law, could be best known by the interpretation that had been given of it by actual practice through a

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[5] On this subject Cave observes: "In contexenda historia media incedit via inter LXX interpretes et codices Hebraicos, qui Rabbinis a seculo Aquilæ in usu fuerunt. Negligenter itaque factum a viris doctis indoctisque, qui editionem Interpretum Alexandrinorum Flavium nostrum secutum esse asseruerunt, cum millies ab illis senibus discedit; ut me nuper monuit optimus Bernardus noster, in quibusvis melioris notæ scriptoribus egregie versatus, in Josepho versatissimus." (*Hist. Lit.* pars II. p. 20.)

long lapse of ages. The ancient Hebrew text, too, may possibly have agreed with the Septuagint. The Samaritan, however, is the same as the Hebrew, and the Targum of Onkelos agrees with them. Philo Judæus has two thousand as the extent of the suburbs. (*De Sacerdot. Honoribus*, p. 645.) In the Vulgate it is, "mille passuum spatio" in the fourth verse; but in the fifth verse, "duo millia cubiti." Lowman understands the thousand cubits mentioned in the fourth verse to be the measurement of the suburbs every way, from the walls of the city into the country; and the two thousand cubits mentioned in the fifth verse to be the measurement from the beginning of the suburbs on the country side into the centre of the city. (*Civil Gov. of the Hebrews*, p. 110, quoted by Jennings, *Jewish Antiq.* b. I. c. 5, note.)

According to the opinion of Bishop Cumberland, as given at the end of the common edition of the Bible, in the appendix to the second table of measures, &c., the first one thousand cubits is the length of each of the sides of a square inclosing suburban land, and the two thousand cubits mentioned in the next verse merely denote two sides of the square, and that there are four of these squares, one on each side of the Levitical cities.

Leydecker is of the same opinion as Maimonides; or rather, he implicitly follows his opinion. "Præterea urbibus Levitarum erant suburbia, quæ in circuitu mille cubitis distabant a mœnibus, quibus addebantur ad bis mille cubitos loca pro vineis et agris." (*De Repub. Heb.* lib. VI. c. 3, p. 347.)

By estimating the quantity of land contained in figures of the several dimensions assigned, by the different opinions, to the suburbs of the Levitical cities, we may be enabled to ascertain, pretty nearly, which interpretation is the true one. Let us first examine the opinion of Le Clerc.

According to him, the figure inclosing both city and suburbs is a square of two thousand cubits each side. Assuming the cubit to be 21·888 inches, the measure of the Egyptian cubit, which, no doubt, the Israelites adopted, the quantity of land comprehended is 305a. 2r. 1p.; and, according to Le Clerc, the city occupied a circle whose diameter was two thousand cubits, and this contains 239a. 3r. 31¼p.; this being deducted from the former quantity leaves about sixty-five acres and a half as the suburbs of a Levitical city. But this supposes that

the city can never exceed the measure of two thousand cubits in diameter; otherwise, the city itself would extend beyond the line of its own suburbs. Or, if the diameter of the city were just two thousand cubits, the circumference of the city would, in four points, touch the utmost boundary of the suburbs. It has been calculated that, on an average, each family of the Israelites, in the distribution of the land, would obtain about twenty-one acres; but the Levites were to have no portion thus allotted; they were to derive their maintenance chiefly from tithes and offerings; the quantity of land, therefore, appropriated to them in the suburbs would be much smaller than that assigned to each family of the other tribes on the average. Of the Levites there were 23,000 males, from a month old and upward; and allowing an equal number of females, the whole would be 46,000; and there being 48 Levitical cities, we may assign about 958 individuals, Levites, to each Levitical city, about 191 families, allowing five to a family; among whom there are, according to Le Clerc, only 65½ acres of land to be distributed; that is, about one-third of an acre to each family for garden and to feed their cattle. I deem it unnecessary to say any thing more of the incorrectness of Le Clerc's interpretation.

Let us now examine the interpretation of Maimonides. He says, the suburbs extended three thousand cubits on all sides from the city; and allowing the city to occupy a figure of one thousand cubits in diameter, the boundary of the suburbs would be, on each side, seven thousand cubits; the land comprehended would be 3,742 acres; deducting from this the ground occupied by the city, one thousand cubits each side, which amounts to about 76 acres, leaves 3,666 to be divided among 191 families; and this allows nearly twenty acres to each Levitical family, nearly as much as was assigned to each family among the other tribes. This clearly demonstrates the incorrectness of this interpretation of Maimonides. But if the city exceeded the measure which is assumed in the above estimate, the land in the suburbs would increase, so as to allow more to each of the Levitical families than to the families of the other tribes, which would be absurd.

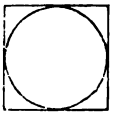
Let us now examine the statement of Josephus, which, we should remember, agrees with that of the Septuagint interpreters, who lived at a time when they could know the extent

of the suburbs. He says the suburbs extended two thousa cubits from the city on all sides. Allowing for the city same space, one thousand cubits each side, as above, in amining the opinion of Maimonides, the ground occupied both city and suburbs will be a figure of five thousand cu each side. This will contain about 1,909 acres, from whi deducting the ground of the city, there are remaining 1,6 acres to be distributed among 191 families. This assigns ab nine acres and a half to each family, not the one-half of t quantity of land allotted to the other families of the Israelite and this seems to be an equitable proportion.

It appears then, that, previous to this mode of investigatir the subject, we might reasonably conclude that Josephus w best qualified to understand the true meaning assigned by t Jews to the passage respecting the extent of the suburbs the Levitical cities; and the investigation of the subject, wi regard to the quantity of land which each mode of interpret tion would assign to each Levitical family, places it, in m opinion, beyond a doubt that Josephus is correct.

According to Le Clerc:

2,000 Cubits.

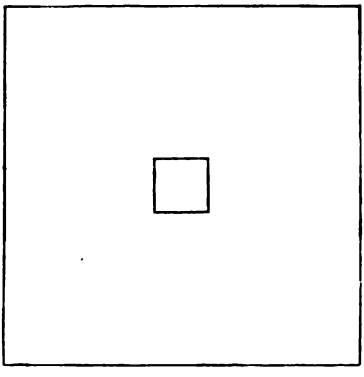


	A.	R.	P.
Suburbs and city, inclosed by a square each side of 2,000 cubits	305	2	1
Deduct city, forming a circle 2,000 cubits in diameter	239	3	31¼
Leaves of land in the suburbs	65	2	9¾

That is, for each family one-third of an acre.

According to Maimonides:

7,000 Cubits.

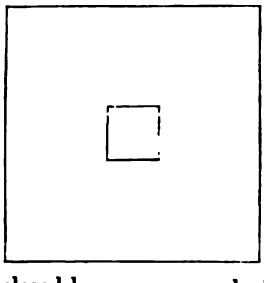


	A.	R.	P.
Suburbs and city, inclosed by a square of 7,000 cubits each side	3,742	1	$34\frac{1}{2}$
Deduct city, a square, each side of 1,000 cubits	76	1	$20\frac{1}{4}$
Land in the suburbs	3,666	0	$14\frac{1}{4}$

That is, for each family nineteen acres and some perches.

According to Josephus:

5,000 Cubits.

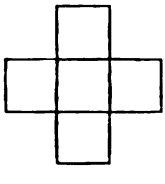


	A.	R.	P.
Suburbs and city, inclosed by a square, each side 5,000 cubits	1,909	1	$27\frac{1}{5}$
Deduct city, a square, each side of 1,000 cubits	76	1	$20\frac{1}{4}$
Leaves of land in the suburbs	1,833	0	$6\frac{12}{20}$

That is, about nine acres and a half to each family.

According to Bishop Cumberland:

1,000 Cubits.

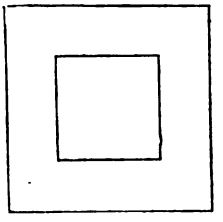


	A.	R.	P.
A square on each side of the city, 1,000 cubits each side, the amount of the four squares will be	305	2	1

This divided among 191 families, will allow to each a litt more than an acre and a half.

According to Lowman:

4,000 Cubits.



	A.	R.	P.
The whole square, containing suburbs and city	1,222	0	4
The city, 2,000 cubits each side	305	2	1
Leaves in the suburbs	916	2	3

This allows to each family about four acres three roods.

Lowman's supposition, that the two thousand cubits wer measured "from without the city" into the centre of the city cannot be maintained by reference to the original expressio There is an ambiguity in the expression "from without th city," as it is in our authorized version. It may mean, from point without the city inwards, as Lowman has understood it but the original words מחוץ לעיר signify "outside of the city. It is an expression that often occurs, as also the similar ex pression מחוץ למחנה "outside of the camp." (Deut. XXIII. 10. 12. So that the measurement of the two thousand cubits was a taken outside of the city.

In these two verses respecting the suburbs I prefer the read ing of the Septuagint; and I think the fifth verse is merely more full expression or explanation of the fourth.

We are not to suppose the Levites were the sole inhabitants o the Levitical cities, but they possessed inalienably the propert of these cities. (See Levit. XXV. 32, &c.).

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XXIV.

ON A EUROPEAN NOTATION FOR EXTRA EUROPEAN SOUNDS.

THE time was, when the project of writing the Hebrew or Arabic language in any but their native characters, was received with scorn by the learned; but in recent days, the serious evils entailed by the necessity of learning new alphabets have become more manifest with the progress of philology. It may here be not inexpedient concisely to recount them.

(1.) No one is able to learn a foreign language which is written in a new character, unless he systematically submits to a sort of scholastic drudgery. If even he should study diligently an hour a day for a month together, he would lose a very large part of the power of reading thus laboriously acquired, by a disuse of it for two or three months. The tendency, therefore, of the system is, to prevent all from acquiring such language, except those who pursue it with strictly professional objects. However light those may make of this difficulty whose profession leads them into daily familiarity with the foreign character, it is undeniable that numbers are entirely repelled by it from acquiring even an interest in the language which it conceals. The writer knows those who have been, *more or less*, acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages and characters for twenty and fifteen years, who, nevertheless, to this day are forced to spell out the letters slowly and painfully, as a child of four years old in reading English.

(2.) Even those who have already acquired a foreign character so as to read fluently, seldom or never attain the same intimate familiarity with it as with the European type. Hence, if they desire to find a sentence in a work by running the eye over several pages, the labour lost is immense.

(3.) From the want of the distinction between *small* and *capital* letters, it must, in every case, be more difficult to find a required passage printed in any non-European type. Italics are another secondary advantage which we possess.

(4.) The great expense of printing in foreign types, and th far greater liability to misprints, are objections not to be de spised.

(5.) The defective apparatus of stops and quotation mark generally to be complained of in Asiatic and African alphabet is another disadvantage. The Hebrew or Masoretic system i too refined and elaborate to be quoted as an exception of an practical interest.

(6.) By its legibility, simplicity, quickness of writing, free dom from diacritical points, which are so liable to be misplace —with its full provision for the exhibition of vowels in th text,—the European type seems to have intrinsic advantage over Hebrew, Arabic, Amharic, or Sanscrit.

(7.) For the purposes of modern philology, it is not desirabl only, but almost essential, to be able to exhibit side by side, i the same type, the words of numerous and distant tongues. I the learned compile elaborate dictionaries, their work is comp ratively useless, unless those who consult them can read th various types in which the foreign words are written; and thi is not to be expected. It is hard to lay on a student of Swedis and Gothic the prohibition to consult a Comparative Dictio ary, unless he has first learned the Sanscrit type; equally unfa to expect a student of Sanscrit to be able to read the Arabi the Zend, the Burmese, or the Armenian. And if there sha be a common system adopted, no one will question that th ordinary European alphabet should be its foundation.

This being conceded, it remains to inquire how unanimit may be attained concerning the particular method to be em ployed. The single general reply, is, I think, the followin *By introducing no arbitrary inventions in detail, but by follo ing analogies,* just as algebraists have done in establishing the notations. Any system which proceeds on a just analogy wi be easily learnt and remembered; and even if several suc systems coexisted, they would not necessarily cause great inco venience. In a short time, however, that system would preva which united most secondary advantages, such as legibilit and convenience of writing and printing, with the essenti demand of discriminating sounds aright. Hitherto, the chi mischief has arisen from introducing special shifts for speci sounds, without reference to any general system, or to th demands of numerous languages. Printers are vexed, an

readers puzzled, by the uncertainty of types; and until some *general principles* are followed, no success in this course can be hoped for.

Such principles, however, seem to lie even on the surface of the languages most important to us; nor does it seem at all difficult to embrace, by slight modifications of our common type, nearly every letter of the Sanscrit, the Armenian, the Arabic, the Amharic; which seem to include all those consonants which are likely to be met, or for which at least we need at present make provision.

We distinguish the following as cardinal consonants; D T, G K, B P, Z S, M N, L R, H,—and Y, W, V, F, more or less supernumerary. Another aspirate is wanting, to express the Arabic *Ain;* and it seems to me highly desirable, if not essential, to cut a new type, substantially similar to that of the Arabic *Ain final,* only so far modified as to be similar in style to European letters. Such a new type, Professor Lassen has, at my suggestion, preferred to any other method for printing this sound in the Berber language, in a recent number of his Oriental Journal; but the type-cutter has been by no means successful. Perhaps it may hereafter appear, that, modified according to the same laws as the other letters, it may serve to express the curious clicks of which we are told in the Hottentot language.

The cardinal consonants above recited need to receive three principal changes. If this be but admitted (and I think it is a broad fact), it follows that the *same mark should be added to every letter, to denote a change of the same kind;* after which it is only a secondary question what that particular mark should be.

The principle has already been in part acted on. To express what is called the *Aspiration* of consonants, Bopp and others have superadded the Greek spiritus asper to *t, d,* &c. I understand, also, that Lassen has set an accent over letters, to denote their *hard* or palatal nature, in the Sanscrit. A third modification has been made less prominent, viz. the *softening* of letters, which, in imitation of the Portuguese ñ, I have thought might be denoted by a circumflex over any consonant.

Such appear to be the three necessary modifications—Aspiration, Softening, and Hardening (Thickening or Strengthening ?). Aspiration is to be distinguished from the mere annexa-

tion of the *h*-sound to a consonant, such as we hear in the compound words, *inh*abit, di*sh*earten, &c. Nor does there seem any reason why such compound sounds as the Irish *th*, *fh*, *bh* &c. should not be represented by these true equivalents. But the very fact that such double sounds exist as the true *th*, *ph* &c. makes it improper to represent such as the Greek θ and English *f* by *th* and *ph*; for a legitimate use of the latter form is preoccupied. This is no idle refinement. Serious inconvenience must result from the uncertainty whether such a word as *sepher* represented *sefer* with three consonants, or *sep-her* with four; and would quite lead astray a person seeking information in a strange language. Besides, when a consonant is doubled as in *afford*, it would be very cumbrous to have to write it *aphphord*, or, if this were endurable, yet how are we then to aspirate by *h* the aspirates? An Irishman says *Fhair* for *Fair*; who would wish to have to write it *Phhair*?

It has been usual to regard the sounds which the French write *ch* and *j* as Aspirates of *s* and *z*. But I apprehend they really are *s* and *z* *softened*, being nothing but a slightly degenerate pronunciation of *si* and *zi* before a vowel. This is seen in the words enun*ci*ate and persua*si*on (*si* for *zi*). The Scandinavian tongues write, I believe, *sj* for our *sh*, which recognizes the fact; nor is the Italian *sci* very far from it. The modern Greeks sometimes write σκι, and sometimes σι, before a vowel, for the same sound. I see no serious objection to devoting *j* to the sole office of softening consonants (as *sj*, *zj*, *dj*, *tj*, *kj*, &c.), except the cumbrousness of it, provided that Y, not J, were used for the isolated consonant, as in English. One remark only need be added; that D and G, T and K, when softened, merge in only two sounds—Dj and Tch, as we write them. This is a familiar fact to grammarians, in such words as *Giorno* from *Diurnus*; it has been less insisted on in the sounds *Tio* and *Cio*, perhaps because the *Tio* so often has also passed into the sound of *Sho*. Etymology must decide (if possible) whether a given sound should be written by softened G or D, by softened K or T.

Hard or Thick consonants are known to us as provincial peculiarities, but not as legitimate or radical sounds of the language. The thick T of the Irish must have been heard by every Englishman. It is not difficult to conceive of a similar variation of every other consonant. As regards the mark to be used

to denote a thickening of the sound, it ought, if possible, to be such as not to have any other use. The *accent* is forestalled for far too important a function to be superseded, which seems to make some other mark desirable. In an English Hebrew work of the last century, I have seen a cross placed over a *h* or *k*, to denote the strengthening or deepening of the sound; and a very similar artifice is employed by M. Delaporte, in recent specimens of the Berber language. Finally, it should be kept in mind that it may be necessary *simultaneously* to soften and thicken the same consonant, as in the thick or emphatic *Tch* of the Amharic and Armenian. The marks, however, which denote the two changes separately, might in any case be combined, if both were to be placed *above* the consonant.

After these preliminaries, the following scheme will be easily understood.

Primitive.	Aspirates.	Softened.	Strengthened.
D	*'d* = δ	soft *gi* Italian	Arabic ض
T	*'t* = θ	soft *ci* „	Hebrew ט
G	*'g* = γ, Dutch *g*?	soft *gi* „	*Perso*-Arabic ڭ
K	*'k* = χ, German *ch*	soft *ci* „	Hebrew ך
B	*'b* = V } which may be kept	... ...	Armenian *P*?
P	*'p* = F } which may be kept		Amharic *P*?
Z	... ...	French *j*	Arabic ظ
S	... ...	French *ch*	Arabic ص Sanscrit *s*
M	*'m* in Welsh = V		
N	... ...	French *gn*	
L	... ...	French *ll*, Sanscrit *l*?	
R	... ...	Sanscrit soft *r*?	Armenian *r*
H	... ...	... ...	Arabic ح
Ain	Hottentot *click*?	Arabic *Hamza*	Hottentot *click*?

No cognizance is here taken of differences which are solely euphonic, as that between the French and English T, the soft and hard German *ch*, the Greek γ and Arabic *Ghain*, the

Amharic and the Arabic *Qâf*. To attend to such minutiæ would produce needless embarrassment. It is possible that a fourth kind of mark may hereafter be found needful, to express the *nasal* modification of letters. The nasal *n* in French is wholly euphonic, as was the final *m* nasal (?) of the Romans. The Turkish grammars assign a nasal *n* as an alphabetic letter in that language; but the sound is in practice often neglected, and it does not appear, from the imperfect dictionary to which alone I have at present access, that this sound is ever significant, in contrast to the common *n*. If otherwise, a new notation will be needed. It is easy by trial to satisfy oneself that every consonant of our language admits of being enunciated nasally, in a manner analogous to the French *n*. The sound of the English *ng* is also unprovided for; nor do I know how this is to be done on any general principle, nor whether the defect is of much importance in the Sanscrit and Celtic tongues.

F. W. Newman.

P.S. Since the above was written, I have become acquainted with the Galla Grammar of Karl Tutschek, from which it appears that the Gallas have a modification of *d* and of *t* different from those known to Sanscrit, Arabic, and Amharic. Nevertheless, their peculiar D may be referred to the last column above, and their T, perhaps, to the second; on the ground that the D is very backward on the palate, as ض and its collateral consonants, while T is dental, and approaches the sound of *ts*, and is like the aspirates in being forward in the mouth. But on this matter it is perhaps impossible to judge without hearing the sound. The Gallas have also a peculiar nasal *n*, differing essentially from their common *n*.

F. W. N.

XXV.

THE PRACTICE OF WRITING ENGLISH IN CLASSIC METRES.

English Hexameters and Sapphics have ever been a fertile theme for ridicule and contempt, and when they have been employed in earnest, they have given occasion to burlesques, which have remained in the memory long after their immediate cause has been forgotten. Canning's *Knifegrinder* is the first poem that presents itself to the mind, if classical lyrics in the English language are mentioned.

But yet it must be admitted, by all who look on the subject with an unprejudiced eye, and who bring with them a feeling for the tone of classic originals, that we must, in some way or other, approach the ancient method of treatment, if we do not exactly follow it. The recent adoption of sundry species of blank lyrics, which, while they are not antique, have never become familiar to the English ear, is a recognition of the fact, that the mode of translating in vogue during the last century will no longer meet the exigencies of the present.

Indeed, when we take up such a book as—for instance—Francis's *Horace*, and look over a single page, we have a difficulty in understanding for what purpose it was intended, and what notion the writer attached to the word "translation." Writing in a form the rules of which were exceedingly rigid and exacting, and which had not the slightest affinity with those of the original, he was constantly tempted to allow himself the greatest license with respect to his author, and was encouraged in his deviations by the prevalent desire to bring all poetry to one level mode of expression. The result of confinement on the one hand, and latitude on the other, was an English poem written indeed on the subject of the original, but different in every other respect.

That there is now a much more correct notion of translation than a century ago, there can be no doubt, but still there is a want of fixed principle, and we have no work of magnitude that answers the object of one of the German translations of

the Greek poets. The French, whose metrical translations of the ancients were on the same principle as our own of former days, seem now to have abandoned metre altogether, furnishing the world with prose translations, and the Germans alone occupy a high position as translators into verse of the ancient authors. The question is, whether they could have obtained this position without adopting, as they have done, the original metres.

In my opinion they could not, and so strongly am I persuaded of the soundness of their principle, that I am convinced it must either be adopted, or a close approximation must be made to it, or the French mode must be followed, and we must put up with the lifelessness of a lyric without metre. Nowhere, but in translations on the German model, can I find any thing but clever *jeux d'esprit* written with more or less elegance;—nowhere but in these translations can I find a reproduction of an author, that is in some sort a substitute, though an imperfect one, for the original.

I am aware of the objection that a poem, written in English, and in classical metre, would not be "popular." This objection I would meet with the question: What ancient lyric poem in any metre *can* be popular, in the ordinary sense of the word? Mr. Dyer, in a recent number of the *Museum*, very properly animadverted on the absurdity of a *popular* edition of Æschylus, and to me appears equally absurd the notion of a popular translation of Pindar, or even of Horace, for the acquisitions of a schoolboy, who has only fagged through a Latin poet or two, remove him far—far from the merely popular condition. The morals, manners, and motives which we find in ancient authors, are so totally different from the ordinary things that surround us, that the enjoyment of their works proceeds from a state of mind eminently artificial, though it has been implanted in many of the educated portion at so early an age, that it has become to them like a second nature. I do not believe there was ever found in any modern nation a single man who, never having opened a book in any language but his own, was an ardent admirer of Horace, though he might have access to the most perfect translations. It may be laid down as a certain fact, that the readers of a translated poem are either those who are adepts in the original language, and wish to see

how the translator has got through his task, or are those who, though they are no longer masters of Greek and Latin, have some sort of school reminiscence, which enables them vaguely to appreciate a work of the kind. The great Epic poets form an exception, and naturally so, because they are often read for the sake only of the story they tell, and therefore, with some, enter into the category of history.

With the conviction, then, that no translation of an antique poem can be popular, that is to say, can afford pleasure to any one who is not trained up to the capability of appreciating an antique treatment; we ask why the ancient metres may not be adopted here as in Germany. The adoption would, I am sure, go far to secure fidelity of translation; for though it would be too much to say, that a word in our language, corresponds in length with a word in another language corresponding in meaning, any one who tries his hand at translating will find that an adhesion to the original metre, —a resolution to retain, as far as possible, the contents of a line of the original in a corresponding line of translation, operates as a powerful check to the licentious introduction of expletives, or equally licentious omissions. The work is, as it were, proved at every step.

The fact, that the ancients measured their verse by quantity, whereas we measure ours by accent, seems to me to be of less importance than is commonly imagined. The question is not, whether we can write such hexameters as would satisfy the ear of Virgil himself, but whether we can write them, so as to give to a *modern* a pleasure approximating to that which he receives on reading a classic poet. And it certainly appears to me, that it is by a system of accents that our *ear* is chiefly affected, when we take pleasure in any *unsung* verse, ancient or modern, although we judge of the correctness of the former by the application of certain rules and authorities. It has been said, that when a person pronounces the word "Italia" thus: "Itallia," he observes accent instead of quantity, and that when in scanning a line he makes it "I'talia," he observes quantity instead of accent; but may it not be said, quite as truly, as far as the English ear is concerned, that he has but shifted the place of the accent?[1] In reflecting upon this point it is most essential

[1] It is scarcely necessary to state that the Greek accents are not at all taken into consideration in the above.

to distinguish the pleasure received by the sense of hearin from that which consists in observing the conformity with th laws of metre. The latter would be entirely destroyed by th substitution of a trochee for a spondee in one of the first fou feet of a hexameter, the former would be much more possibl than if the substituted foot were an iambus.

From these considerations may be deduced not only th possibility of writing English in classic metres, so as to satisf the ear, but also the rule that is to be laid down in the con struction of the verse. The English words being for th most part free from those laws of quantity which bind th ancients, a much greater latitude may be allowed with respec to the "longs" and "shorts;" but the place of the "ictus' should be observed with the most scrupulous exactness. Th same word may be made to perform the functions of a sponde and a trochee, but not those of a trochee and an iambus. At th same time, all that is done on the side of license should b rather pardoned than encouraged; and though such a word as *e.g.*, "wisely" *may* stand in a spondee's place, a word with mor weight in its second syllable would be preferable. The trans-lator should steadily keep in view that his reader is not merel to glance at a scheme of versification first, and then torture th words into an adaptation to that scheme, but that the word themselves should mark the position of the ictus.

I subjoin, as a practical illustration of these remarks, translation of Horace, Book I. Ode X., in which the unaccente places are not observed so rigidly as I could have wished, bu in which I think the "*ictus*" will be found correctly placed It should be observed that I consider the first foot to be a *Epitritus secundus*, with the ictus on the first syllable only but that at the same time, I consider the third syllable as mor marked than the fourth. The apparent deviation from thi principle in the second strophe is justified by the stop tha occurs after the word "messenger." The name "Priam" i treated as if the first syllable were long, though it really is no so, this being the only way of pronunciation to which th English ear is accustomed. "Priam," as we pronounce it forced into the second half of a dactyl, would be intolerable For a similar reason, the short "i" before a vowel, as i "Thessalian," is not considered a syllable.

Atlas' grandson, eloquent—speaking Hermes,
Who by teaching language and rites gymnastic,
Wisely form'd the manners uncouth of mortals
Newly created.

Thee I sing, to Jove and the gods immortal
Messenger;—by thee was the lyre invented,
Thou art skill'd in hiding whate'er may please thee,
Merrily stealing.

While Apollo sought by his threats to scare thee,
Bidding thee a boy to restore the cattle
Thou hadst stol'n, he could not refrain from laughter,
Robb'd of his quiver.

Wealthy Priam leaving his Troy—in safety
Led by thee—avoided the proud Atrides
Pass'd Thessalian watches, and pass'd encampments
Hostile to Ilium.

Thou to habitations of bliss restorest
Pious souls; light shades with thy gold caduceus
Guiding; Gods in heav'n and in hell regard thee
Ever with favour.

JOHN OXENFORD.

XXVI.

ON VICTORINUS.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE.[1]

In addition to the authors mentioned by Bähr[2], who have written on Victorinus, the ecclesiastical writer and grammarian, the subject has been lately treated by Osann[3], but in such a manner, that, notwithstanding some ingenious views, instead of illustrating or solving the question, he has rather involved it in greater obscurity. It would be strange indeed, when there is no agreement as to the name, that there could be the same opinion about the individual and his writings. It is therefore of the first importance to determine the name of the writer concerning whose life and works there is here question.

1. *Gaius Marius.* Hieronymus calls him, in *Catal. Script. Eccles.* CI., simply "Victorinus, natione Afer." He says that he was a teacher of rhetoric at Rome in the reign of Constantine; that he became a Christian at a very advanced age, and wrote some very obscure books against Arius, and also commentaries on the epistles of the Apostle (commentarios in Apostolum). But the same Hieronymus, in another passage[4], gives him the fuller name, *Gaius Marius Victorinus.* That this can be no other person is evident from his own words: "Non quod ignorem, Gaium Marium Victorinum, qui Romæ pueros rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in Apostolum." The signature also of the Basle Codex of Victorinus's Commentary to Cicero's *Rhetoric*, bears, according to Orelli, the name of Marius: "MARII VICTORINI oratoris clarissimi in Marci Tullii Ciceronis veteris editionis Rhetoricen commentariorum libri duo expliciunt feliciter." Also Cassiodorus (*De Rhet.*, tom. II. p. 535. Garet) gives him the same name. And these names are now considered genuine by Orelli, Osann, and Bähr.

2. *Fabius.* The name Fabius, which Cave (*Script. Eccles.* I. p. 228) joins with Marius, has been lately rejected or doubted. Now, in support of this name, I can adduce a very important authority.

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[1] Translated from the author's MS. by G. F. Graham.

[2] In his *History of Roman Literature*, vol. II. § 307, note 10.

[3] *Beiträge zur Griechischen und Römischen Litteraturgeschichte*, vol. II.

[4] *Præf. Comm. in Epist. ad Gal.* p. 222.

In a parchment MS.[5] which is believed to belong to the twelfth century, is found the following title:

MARII. FABII. VICTORINI. RHETO
RIS. IN RHETORICIS. CICERONIS. LI
BER PRIMVS INCIPIT.

3. *Maximinus.* In most editions, especially those of Putschius and Lindemann, the grammarian Victorinus is called Maximus Victorinus; and if to this we add his established name of Marius, we shall find analogies between this and that of the historian *Marius Maximus*[6], the *Marius Maximus* of the Godesberg inscription[7], and the consul *C. Marius Maximus*, A.D. 223. And since also the name of Fabius is established for Victorinus, we might adduce in confirmation of it the name which so frequently occurs of consuls called Fabius Maximus. But, as Osann remarks, the author of the little work *De Ratione Metrorum*, or *De Metris*, is twice named *Maximinus Victorinus* in a MS. of the fifteenth century at Naples[8]; and the same also occurs in a Vienna MS.[9] As long as this authentic information is not weakened by other MSS. which have Maximus, we must adopt the name Maximinus. But it is very singular that we have one, or rather two other designations of this same writer.

4. *Q. Laurentius.* Mai[10] quotes the following expression from Lorsch MSS.: "Fabii Laurentii liber de rhetorica," and remarks upon it as follows: "Est hic, ut comperi, notus ille editus Victorini commentarius in Rhetoricam Ciceronis; enotavi tamen codicem propter nomen Laurentii *inauditum*, ut puto, quia is vulgo dicitur Fabius Marius Victorinus; cui quidem operi emendando valde conferret Codex Vaticanus pervetus optimus, quem vidisse memini." In favour of this new name, I can here add an interesting confirmation. In the Brussels MS. before referred to, there is appended to the first book the following signature: Q. LAVRENTII. FABII. VICTORINI. MARII. COMMENTARIORV̄. IN. MARCI. TVLLII. CICERONIS. RETHORICIS. LIBER. PRIMVS. EXPLICIT. INCIP̄. SCŌS.; and to the second book:

MARII.

Q. LAVRENTI. FABII. VICTORINI. COMMENTARIORVM IN MARCI TVLLII CICERONIS. IN RETHORICIS. LIB̄. SCŌ. EXPLICIT:

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[5] In the Burgundian Library at Brussels, No. 5347, fol.

[6] Often mentioned in the *Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ.*

[7] See *Central Museum Rheinländischer Inschriften*, II. 18.

[8] Jannelli, *Catal. Bibl. MSS. Mus. Borbon.* pp. 24, 25.

[9] Endlicher, *Catal. Cod. MSS. Vindobon*, part I. p. 218.

[10] *Spicileg. Roman.* tom. V. p. XI.

From this we may decidedly infer that Victorinus was a polyony mus, and that his full name was *Gaius Marius, Fabius Maximinus Quintus Laurentius, Victorinus;* not unlike that found in th Godesberg inscription [11]—*Quintus Venidius Rufus Marius Maxim Lucius Calvinianus.*

From the above it will appear that this African rhetorician Vi torinus [12] was an elder contemporary of St. Hieronymus; his birt therefore, falls in the third, and his death in the fourth century. H wrote, when an old man, commentaries on the Apostle Paul, a contr versial work against Arius, and commentaries on Cicero's Dialogue The word "dialogi," as used by Hieronymus, must not be taken in it strict signification; he uses it in a general sense for rhetoric, whic meaning is more particularly confirmed by the fact that the sam Victorinus wrote a commentary on Cicero's *Topica*, the contents which are thus indicated by Boethius, in his work of the same natu (vol. I. p. 270, ed. Orelli):—"Sed quum in Marci Tullii Topica Mari Victorinus Rhetor plurimæ in disserendi arte notitiæ commenta co scripserit;" and further, "Quattuor enim voluminibus Victorinus i Topica conscriptis eorum primo declarandis tantum libri principi occupatur.....secundo volumine de iudicandi atque inveniendi diale ticæ partibus et de locorum atque argumenti definitione pertractat..... tertius vero atque quartus discretionem locorum inter se eorumq exempla multiformiter persequuntur: ita ut tertius quidem Tullia sibi de iure proponat exempla, quartus vero eosdem locos per ali rursus similitudines monstret ex Virgilio et Terentio poetis, orator bus Cicerone et Catone." If then the word "dialogi" is understood rhetoric, we may without hesitation ascribe to the same author the sti extant commentaries of one Marius Victorinus on Cicero *de Inventione* and if this latter is to be regarded as established—and no one h hitherto denied the fact—the question arises, *In what relation do th grammarian and Prodosian Maximus Victorinus*[13], *and the Metri cian Marius Victorinus*[14] *stand to this rhetorician?* Let us ca a glance at the Commentaries on Cicero, and we shall find tha quoting a passage from Varro, "Esse artem extrinsecus unam, alia intrinsecus" (p. 19, ed. Orelli), he gives the following definition

[11] See the *Central Museum Rheinl. Inschrift*, II. 18.

[12] We must take care not to confound the African rhetorician with another, who in some respects resembles him, and is mentioned by Gennadius, *Catal. Illustr. Viror.* LXI.: "Victorinus, rhetor *Massiliensis* ad filii sui Etherii personam *commentatus* est *in Genesim*, id est, a *principio* libri usque ad obitum Abrahæ patriarchæ. Quattuor versuum edid libros Christiano quidem et pio sens sed utpote sæculari litteratura hom occupatus, et nullius magisterio in div nis scripturis exercitatus levioris po deris sententias figuravit. Moritur The dosio et Valentiniano regnantibus."

[13] Pp. 1937—1974, ed. Putsch.

[14] Pp. 2449—2622.

"Ut puta si dicam: Grammatica ars est gnara partium orationis, gnara syllabarum, gnara litterarum; per hanc discimus omnia vitia devitare; hæc quum dico quumque per hanc vitari vitia dico, non tamen, quomodo vitentur, ostendo: artem illam extrinsecus doceo, per quam sola scientia discitur. Si autem dicam, quæ sint partes orationis, quæ syllabæ, quæ litteræ, quibusque modis omnia illa constent, quo pacto vitia vitentur: tunc erit illa ars, cui est nomen intrinsecus: non quæ ad scientiam nostram tantum proficit, sed quæ in actu sit. Ergo et ars rhetorica duplex est," &c. Here the rhetorician unmistakably betrays a critical and scientific acquaintance with grammar, and we also find grammatical references in pp. 21 and 69. Again, there occurs in the grammarian Victorinus, *De Novissimis et Primis Syllabis*[15], a remarkable exhortation to the study of Cicero's *Rhetoric*, from which Spengel[16] has already taken occasion to suggest the identity of this so-called Maximus Victorinus with Marius Victorinus, the commentator on Cicero's treatise. The name Maximus was the only remaining obstacle. But we already know from Jannelli[17] and Endlicher[18], that Maximus Victorinus is the genuine reading of the MSS.[19] Moreover, the grammarian Victorinus[20] quotes Donatus as his predecessor in grammatical studies: "Sed illa, quoniam Donatus exposuit, ideo dimittimus;" and in another passage[21], also Lactantius Firmianus as his contemporary ("nostra memoria"). So that neither upon internal nor external evidence can we discover a trace of difference between the authors; or rather, every reference to the subject will lead us to adopt the opinion that the rhetorician Victorinus and the grammarian were one and the same person.

If we had greater certainty that the Marius Victorinus, who wrote the work *De Ratione Metrorum*[22], was no other than the rhetorician, or what amounts to the same thing, that he was the author of the *Ars Grammatica*, the result would be most acceptable to the history of Roman literature, and would lay the foundation of a more accurate estimation of this author. Now, it cannot be denied that some points of difference exist between the two works. One, at least, I have remarked in the doctrine of the length and shortness of syllables. In the *Ars Gramm.*[23] long syllables are divided into long by nature, and long by position: "Natura *quinque* modis.....positione longæ fiunt *decem* modis." On the other hand, in *De Rat.*

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[15] Commonly, but falsely, called *De Ratione Metrorum*, p. 1973.

[16] *Allgem. Schulz.* 1832. Abth. II. No. 36, p. 285.

[17] *Catal. Cod. Mus. Borbon.* p. 24.

[18] *Catal. Cod. Vindob.* p. 218.

[19] Compare Osann, *Beiträge*, Bd. II. p. 354.

[20] *Ars*, p. 1949.

[21] *De Carm. Heroic.* p. 1957.

[22] P. 2449, ed. Putsch.

[23] P. 1946.

Metr.[24] we read, "Longæ *duobus* modis constant.....positione long modis *octo.*" Whether it be that the author, in these two work followed two different Greek models, or that in the latter he pr pounded an improved view of the subject—just as Aristotle, in h later and larger *Rhetoric*, laid down his doctrine of the πίστεις diffe ently from that given in his earlier work—such slight differences are t insignificant not to be pardoned in any author; and here not only a perfe accordance in the name, and a large number of statements and viev repeated almost verbatim, but also nicer and more subtile family-featur if I may be allowed the expression, lead us to ascribe the two works to o author. Among the former, I place the *three varieties* quoted in his defin tion of the term "ars"[25]: "Quidam tamen ex his veteres aliis nominib disgregaverunt in κακοτεχνίαν, ψευδοτεχνίαν, ματαιοτεχνίαν." Compa this with p. 2450: "Huic arti quot contraria opponuntur? Tria. Qua κακοτεχνία, ψευδοτεχνία, ματαιοτεχνία;" and further, the remark concer ing the first elements of grammar, p. 1937, "Quidam eam a voce cœp runt, alii a litteris, alii a syllabis, alii a casibus;" and p. 2449, "Artic grammaticarum scriptores quidam ab arte inceperunt, quidam a gra matica, quidam a definitione, quidam a littera." In p. 1937 we fi the duties of a grammarian mentioned: "Grammatici officia sunt qua tuor, lectio, enarratio, emendatio, iudicium." With this agrees 2451; "Eius præcipua officia sunt quattuor, ut ipsi (Varroni) place scribere, legere, intelligere, probare." It is also of importance that, i both works, grammar is treated not only with reference to prose, bu also to poetry[26]. The definition of *Definitio*[27] is almost word fo word the same, as well as that of the voice[28]. Then follows that o the letter[29], "Littera est *figuratio* quædam, quæ cum aliis adnexa *vo* emissa comprehenditur;" and again[30], "Littera est *vox* simplex, una *figura* notabilis." In the former passage, we have, "*Tria accidunt* unicuique litteræ, nomen, figura, potestas;" and in the latter, "Nam accidunt unicuique litteræ, nomen, figura, potestas." Then the whole history of the alphabet[31] offers a remarkable resemblance to pp. 2452 and 2468. The story about the origin of the Pythian metre is the same in both works[32]. The same is the case with what is said of the syllable[33], "Syllaba est littera vocalis vel litterarum coitus per aliquam *vocalem* comprehensus;" and again[34], "Syllaba est coniunctio litterarum cum *vocali* vel vocalibus sub uno accentu et spiritu continuata." In the

[24] P. 2471.
[25] P. 1937.
[26] Pp. 1937 and 2450.
[27] Pp. 1938 and 2451.
[28] Pp. 1939 and 2451.
[29] P. 1944.
[30] P. 2452.
[31] P. 1944.
[32] Pp. 1962 and 2494.
[33] P. 1945.
[34] P. 2470.

same way, Victorinus distinguishes rhythm and metre[35]. Lastly, there are also to be remarked, in all these writings, three, or rather four, philosophical categories (considering the definition as the TI which determines the thing) used as dialectic rules: the ΠΟΙΟΝ, or the qualitas; the ΠΟΣΟΝ, or the quantitas; and the ΠΡΟΣ TI, or the finis. With regard to the TI, I refer the reader to the definitions above quoted; for the ΠΟΣΟΝ to the *Ars Gramm.* (p. 1946). "*Qualitas* syllabarum dividitur in duas species." "*Qualitas* verborum est qua quæritur, finitum sit verbum an infinitum." "Accentus est uniuscuiusque syllabæ pronuntiandæ in sono *qualitas*" (p. 1938). I attach no importance to the fact that he distinguished between adverbia qualitatis and quantitatis, according to the example of the Greeks (p. 1951); but I lay more stress upon such views as[36], "Metrum est compositio pedum ad certum *finem* deducta, seu dictionis *quantitas* et *qualitas* pedibus terminata[37]. Figurantur enim (metra) generalibus modis duobus, *quantitatis* et *qualitatis*." But the identity of the authors seems to me to discover itself particularly in the more uncommon προς τι. To perceive quantity and quality is so common an act of thinking minds, that the peculiarity of an individual is less displayed in it; but the idea of purpose does not so easily present itself to every one. But this latter appears in the *Ars* (p. 1492): "Sententia est dictio generalis *ad* vitæ emendationem in communi *pertinens*, ut puta: ne quid nimis. Oratio sermo est contextus *ad* clausulam *tendens*;" and also in *De Rat. Metr.* (p. 2449), "Ars, ut placet Aristoni, collectio est ex perceptionibus et exercitationibus *ad aliquem finem* vitæ *pertinens*;" then he quotes an opinion of Aristotle's, and continues, "Nos qualiter? ars est summa rerum dictio comprehensarum atque exercitatarum ad aliquem vitæ *finem tendentium*;" and further (p. 2451), "Ut Aristoni placet, grammatice est scientia poetas et historicos intelligere, formam præcipue loquendi *ad* rationem et consuetudinem *dirigens*."

When we put all this together, we cannot but arrive at the undoubted conclusion that the grammarian, metrician, rhetorician, and ecclesiastical writer, Victorinus, were one and the same person, who, when a heathen, and perhaps also when a Christian, belonged to the Peripatetic school. This fact, that Victorinus was an Aristotelian, is confirmed by other titles of works which can be assigned to him on the authority of various testimonies. Among these may be mentioned the Categoriæ which occur in the *Anecdoton Bruxellense*[38], either an edition of Aristotle's treatise, or an introduction to it; moreover, a translation of the *Isagoge* of Porphyrius, assigned to him, among

[35] *De Carm. Heroic.* p. 1955. *De Rat. Metr.* p. 2484.

[36] *De Rat. Metr.* p. 2493.

[37] P. 2548.

[38] Line 22.

others, by Richer, who lived in the tenth century[29]: "Dial
ergo ordine librorum percurrens, dilucidis sententiarum verbis [C
tus] enodavit. Imprimis enim Porphyrii Ysagogas, id est int
tiones secundum Victorini rhetoris translationem, inde etiam
secundum Manlium explanavit Cathegoriarum, id est prædica
rum librum Aristotelis consequenter enucleans." Perhaps, al
"*Hypothetici Syllogismi*," mentioned in the *Anecdot. Bruxell.*
3 and 4), are the work of Victorinus. At all events, it appea
also, that the comprehensive mind of the founder of the scho
had opened the paths of philosophy, rhetoric, poetics, and gr
transmitted the comprehensiveness of his mind as an inherita
one of his late followers. I hope these lines may soon lead to
accurate and minute investigation of the merits of Victorinus.

L. LER

BONN, *August*, 1845.

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[29] *Hist.* III. 46. (Pertz, Script. III. p. 617.)

XXVII.

ON THE LATIN WORD *IMMO* OR *IMO*.

Forcellini, in his Latin Lexicon, says of Immo or Imo, "Immo et Imo, adverb. *anzi*, μᾶλλον δέ, ἀλλά, quin potius: modo sola adhibetur, modo aliis juncta particulis, et vim habet affirmandi, augendi, eligendi, et corrigendi." This meaning of Immo is explained, as usual in this Lexicon, by the examples which follow.

The following is Zumpt's account of 'immo,' in the last edition of his Latin grammar, translated by Dr. Schmitz (§ 277): "'*Immo*' signifies 'no,' but with this peculiarity, that at the same time something stronger is put in the place of the preceding statement which is denied: e. g. Cic. *Ad Att.* (ix. 7), '*Causa igitur non bona est? Immo optima, sed agetur foedissime.*' *De Off.* (iii. 23), '*Si patriam prodere conabitur pater, silebitne filius? Immo vero obsecrabit patrem, ne id faciat.*' This increase may be sometimes expressed in English by 'nay' or 'nay even.' But this does not justify the assertion that *immo* is an affirmative adverb."

The second of these two passages, which is quoted by Zumpt, is also quoted by Forcellini, who translates "immo vero obsecrabit patrem," by "*no, che anzi,*" &c., in which he translates 'immo' rather according to the principle of Zumpt than that which he has laid down at the beginning of his article. But Forcellini gives also another example from the same chapter of Cicero (*De Offic.* iii. 23), which he translates in accordance with his general doctrine, "Non igitur patria praestat omnibus officiis? Immo vero—*anzi si.*"

According to Forcellini, 'immo' is to be considered an affirmative; according to Zumpt, 'immo' signifies 'no,' and something besides. A word which means both 'yes' and 'no' is rather an awkward thing, and a man might reasonably conclude, that a word which can be translated either 'yes' or 'no' must mean neither 'yes' nor 'no,' but something else.

The number of instances in which 'immo' occurs in Terence alone are sufficient to shew its true meaning. I believe the

word is never used by itself (though Forcellini says that it is), but is always followed by one or more words. The word is used in expressions where the assent or dissent of him who uses it is qualified; and it is accordingly quite correct in some cases to translate it by 'yes,' and in other cases by 'no;' in some cases either word will do. But the 'yes' or 'no' is not absolute; it is modified by the words which follow 'immo.'

In conversation it is often immaterial whether a man says 'yes' or 'no' to a question which another man puts, or to an argument or observation of another man, provided he may qualify his 'yes' or 'no' by some other words. Thus it often happens, in ordinary conversation, that a man who is disputing with another will use 'yes' or 'no' indifferently at the beginning of his reply, and will follow it up with an explanation. He will say 'yes,' if he assents more than he dissents, but he will qualify his assent by some other words. He will say 'no,' if he dissents more than he assents, but he will qualify his dissent by some other words. A few examples will best explain this: sixty or seventy may be found in Terence alone.

Andria, act I. sc. 1, v. 1:—

> *Si.* Vos istæc intro auferte: abite. Sosia
> Adesdum: paucis te volo. *So.* dictum puta,
> Nempe ut curentur recte hæc. *Si.* immo aliud.

Sosia says, "You mean, I suppose, that I must look after these things?" The answer is, "No, it is a different matter I want you for." The answer is not simply negative: it is negative with a correction. Though 'no' is the better version here, there would be no objection to understanding the passage thus: "Yes, and something else too."

Act I. sc. 2, v. 30: Simo, after threatening Davus, says—

> Quid, hoc intellextin', an nondum ne hoc quidem? immo callide,
> Ita aperte ipsam rem modo locutus, nil circumitione usus es.

Here there are two propositions, "Do you understand, or do you not?" and Davus replies to the first by saying, yes, he understands very well: his master speaks too plainly to be mistaken. When a question is thus put in the alternative, it is not always easy to know from a man's answer to which of the two parts he is replying, unless he adds some words of explanation. If there is any doubt here as to whether the 'immo'

of Davus refers to the affirmative or the negative part of the question, that is removed by the word 'callide;' and this is an instance in which the translation 'no' does not suit so well as 'yes.' There is, however, no objection to translating this passage, "Nay, I understand you very well." But Nay means No; and if 'immo' is to be understood negatively, it applies to the second part of Simo's question, and the assent to the first part is expressed by 'callide.'

Act. III. sc. 1, v. 29:—

D. At iam expediam. *P.* expedies? *D.* certe, Pamphile.
P. Nempe ut modo. *D.* immo melius spero.

Davus is promising to get Pamphilus out of his difficulty; and Pamphilus says sarcastically, "I suppose you will do it as you did just now;" to which Davus replies, "No, better I hope;" or if we choose to translate it so, "Yes, and I hope better."

Act. IV. sc. 1, v. 29:—

Ch. Scio: cum patre altercasti dudum, et is nunc propterea tibi
Suscenset; nec te quivit hodie cogere illam ut duceres.
Pa. Immo etiam, quo tu minus scis ærumnas meas,
Hæc nuptiæ non adparabantur mihi,
Nec postulabat nunc quisquam uxorem dare.

Charinus is speaking ironically; he does not believe the story of Pamphilus. The affair is so involved by the circumstances which have happened, that Pamphilus cannot give a direct answer to the remark of Charinus. He begins with 'Immo etiam,' 'Nay, more,' or, 'Yes, and more than that.' Pamphilus could not say either Yes or No to the remark. He could only reply in a qualified manner, and then explain what he meant.

Act IV. sc. 1, v. 46:—

Da. Hac non successit, alia adgrediemur via.
Nisi si id putas, quia primo processit parum,
Non posse iam ad salutem converti hoc malum.
Pa. Immo etiam, nam satis credo, si advigilaveris,
Ex unis geminas mihi conficies nuptias.

Here there is another example of 'Immo etiam.' Davus does not despair, and he promises a new device, unless, he says, you think, because it did not turn out very well at first, there is no hope of the mishap being amended. The reply of Pamphilus

is sarcastic: "Mended," he says, "yes and more than mended; if you are only active enough, you will get me two wives instead of one." It is clear that the force of 'immo' depends on the tone of the answer: if Pamphilus is supposed to approve of what Davus proposes, he must be understood to assent ironically, and to say that he has no doubt Davus will amend this mishap, and will do more than that: he will get him two wives instead of one. If Pamphilus is supposed to answer in the plain direct sense of the words, his answer, 'Immo etiam,' has reference to 'nisi si id putas.' He says, "No, I don't think there is no hope of amending the mishap on that account, for," &c.; where the words that follow 'for' are of course to be understood sarcastically, but still in their plain sense.

It is not always easy to translate well the sentences in which 'immo' occurs. If the word simply meant Yes or No, there would be no difficulty; but the word never does simply mean Yes or No, but is always explained by the words that come after it. The other passages in Terence are too numerous to refer to here, and they may be readily found by any person who is familiar with his plays.

Zumpt's assertion that 'immo' signifies 'no' will seem inconsistent with the use of the word in such a passage as the following (*Eunuchus*, act IV. sc. 7, v. 41):—

> *Thr.* Quid nunc agimus? *Gn.* quin redimus: iam hæc tibi aderit supplicans
> Ultro. *Thr.* Credin'? *Gn.* immo certe: novi ingenium mulierum.

The question is, Think you so? The answer is, or would perhaps be generally translated, Yes, certainly. Zumpt has not given any further explanation of the use of 'immo' than that which the above extract contains; and indeed the plan of a grammar excludes all long discussions. An examination of the Latin particles alone would fill a moderately-sized volume. I cannot collect from what he has said, how he would explain this passsage from the *Eunuchus*, and other like passages; but I think they may be explained consistently with his doctrine. Thraso says, "Do you think so?" Gnatho replies, "No, I don't *think* so, I am sure I know the temper of women," &c. As to the colon which is usually placed after 'certe,' that makes no difficulty. The punctuation of most Latin and Greek books is

so bad as frequently to spoil the sense. Whether the 'immo' is made affirmative or negative, I should write the passage, "Immo certe novi ingenium mulierum," and leave those persons to point whose business seems to be to obscure the meaning of ancient writers.

There are various usages of 'immo' in which it is not employed to express exactly either assent or dissent, but is employed in such a way as points to its true meaning.

In the *Phormio*, act v. sc. 9, v. 54, Nausistrata says:—

> Immo ut meam iam scias sententiam,
> Neque ego ignosco neque promitto quicquam neque respondeo
> Priusquam gnatum videro: eius iudicio permitto omnia.

This is in answer to Demiphon's remark, v. 46,—

> Ignosce; orat, confitetur, purgat, quid vis amplius?

But it is not merely an answer to the words 'quid vis amplius?' it is an answer to the whole proposition, and an answer given after some conversation has been interposed. It is as much as to say, "Well, that you may now know what my decision is," &c.; where the word 'immo' would have no meaning, if it were taken absolutely and disjointed from the 'ut.' The answer begins 'immo ut,' and 'immo,' is here, as I believe it always is, followed by something that explains it.

The meaning of that class of words which grammarians comprehend under the name of conjunctions and adverbs can generally be collected from examples; but it is sometimes difficult even in modern languages to understand how a word has got some of its meanings. It always assists us, however, if we can trace such words to their earlier forms, and discover from what word or combination of words they have been formed. We may in this way sometimes succeed in tracing the present meaning through a series of gradations from the original meaning.

I conjecture that the word 'immo' is an abbreviation of 'in modo.' The word 'modus' is used in connection with other prepositions, as we see in admodum, propemodum, postmodum, and postmodo. The word 'modo' is also much used without any preposition as an adverb, and it has a great variety of significations; but all of them may be deduced from the notion of a measure or limit; the thing to which the measure or limit is applied will appear from the context.

It is therefore incorrect to give to 'modo' a primary signification of *time*, as is done in some books.

The word 'modo' must often be read as a monosyllable in Terence; a mode of abbreviation which is familiar to those who have studied the metres of Terence. As to the form 'in modo,' or 'immo,' it may be compared with 'in loco,' or 'illico,' which is common in Terence, and other writers.

If this explanation of the origin of 'immo' is right, it will shew how the word comes to be capable of such apparently opposite meanings as Yes and No. The word in fact simply means, 'in a manner, in a degree, in a sort, in a kind;' and there is no more difficulty in adapting these general notions to the particular passages in which 'immo' occurs, than there is in seeing what is the precise meaning of 'modo' in the various passages in which it is used in a qualifying sense. For instance; *Phormio*, act I. sc. 2, v. 8:—

> *D.* Quid istuc est? *G.* scies,
> Modo ut tacere possis.

D. "What's that you say?" *G.* "You shall know, under the limitation that you keep it secret:" where the construction is exactly like that in a passage quoted above—

> Immo ut meam iam scias sententiam,
> Neque ego ignosco, &c.

which may be translated, "That you may in a sort know my mind, I will tell you so much as this," &c.

In the following passage, the sense of 'immo' for which I contend is pretty clear. *Hautontim.* act I. sc. 2, v. 19, Chremes says:—

> Quid reliqui est quin habeat quæ in homine dicuntur bona?
> Parentes, patriam incolumem, amicos, genus, cognatos, divitias:
> Atque hæc perinde sunt ut illius animus qui ea possidet:
> Qui uti scit, ei bona: illi, qui non utitur recte, mala.
> *Cl.* Immo ille fuit senex importunus semper, &c.

Clitipho, no doubt means to assent to what his father says, but he puts on the other side the querulous disposition of old Menedemus. The expression appears to be elliptical, and probably in several like cases, a word such as 'at' may have been used originally in the expression. Clitipho admits the truth of his father's remark; but a bare admission would not

express his meaning; and accordingly he admits it with the qualification or excuse for Clinia, which is contained in the words 'immo ille fuit senex importunus.'

In the passage of Horace, I. sat. 3, v. 20—

Quid tu?
Nullane habes vitia? Immo alia et fortasse minora;

the answer is an admission so far as to having faults, but they are different from those which Horace has been enumerating. Bentley has correctly remarked, that the reading 'haud fortasse minora,' which Aldus Manutius, as he believes, was the first to propose, and in which others have followed him, spoils the sense. Orelli, the latest editor, has the reading 'et,' which is the MS. reading, and that which the sense requires.

GEORGE LONG.

XXVIII.

COMPARATIVE ETYMOLOGY[1].

Stagnum.

The root of this word must be *stag* (*stag*+*num*), since *num* is the termination, as in *do-num*, *reg-num*, &c. The meaning of *stagnum*, "standing water," would indicate that this root is connected with the root *sta*, "stand," in the Sanskrit *sthâ*, the Greek ἵ-στα-ναι, and the Latin *sta-re;* and there can be little doubt that it is the same, since we find the root also ending in a guttural in the German *steh-en*, and likewise in the German and Danish *stag*, which is the same as the English *stay*, the guttural being dropped at the end of the word, according to the usual practice of our language. In *stand* and *ge-stand-en*, the past tense and past participle of *steh-en*, and in the English *stand* and *stood*, the root appears with a dental as the final letter; so that the root in the Indo-Germanic languages signifying to stand, appears under the three forms of *sta*, *stag*, and *stad*. There is nothing surprising in this, since we frequently find the same root in the same language with and without a consonant at the end. Thus in Greek, we have the root of the verb τείνειν appearing under the two forms of τεν and τα, as in τείν-ω, τεν-ῶ, ἐ-τειν-α, and τέ-τα-κα, τέ-τα-μαι, and ἐ-τά-θην : so also in κτείνειν, the root is κτεν and κτα, as in κτεν-ῶ, and ἔ-κτα-ν, ἐ-κτά-μην, &c. Another example is given in the following word, ὠρύομαι. *Stagnum* is usually connected with στάζειν, "to drop," and it is probable that the latter word contains the same root, and that it signified originally "to stand in drops."

Ὠρύομαι.

The root of this word appears to be *ru*, the same as the Sanskrit *ru*, to sound or make a noise, and the English *row*, a noise. The ω in ὠ-ρύ-ομαι is consequently no part of the root; the prefix of an *o*, though usually a short one, to the

[1] Continued from Vol. I. p. 111.

ot, is of frequent occurrence, and some instances have been ven in vol. I. p. 112, of this work. The root also occurs in atin, with a consonant-ending in *rud-o* and *rug-io*.

Ὄνειδος.

The o in this word also is no part of the root, since we find Sanskrit a verb *nid*, to blame: consequently *nid* or *neid* ust be the root of *ὄ-νειδ-ος*. The German *neid-en*, "to vy," also appears to contain the same root.

Ὁράω.

Pott in his *Etymologische Forschungen*, from which work any of these examples are taken, supposes that this word connected with the Sanskrit *vri*, to cover, the German *hr*, and the English *ware* in *a-ware*, *be-ware*, and that obtained its meaning of seeing from that of defending, arding, or preserving. The aspirate would therefore repre- nt the *v* or *w*, and may have been originally a digamma. e derivation, however, of the signification of the word from fending or preserving, seems forced to me, and I think it t improbable that the o in *ὁράω*, notwithstanding the pirate, is no part of the root, and that it is merely a prefix, in *ὠ-ρύ-ομαι* and *ὄ-νειδ-ος* explained above. The root ould therefore be *ra*, and the word would be divided thus: *ρά-ω*. This supposition is supported by the fact, that we d in the Semitic languages a root *ra* signifying "to see," for instance in the Hebrew רָאָה *ra-ah* "to see," for surely grammarian will now contend that the *h* is any part of the ot in the Hebrew word. It may be mentioned in corroboration of the above hypothesis, that the Semitic languages ewise contain the root *vid*, "to see" or "know," which curs in so many of the Indo-German languages, as for stance in the Sanskrit *vid*, the Greek Fιδ in *οἶδ-α*, *Fίδ-ω*, ., the Latin *vid-eo*, the Gothic *wit-an*, the German *wiss-en*, e English *wit*. In Hebrew it is יָדַע *yad-a*, where the *y* presents the *v* or *w*.

Κεφαλή,

Sanskrit *kapâla*, Latin *caput*, Gothic *haubith*, Danish *hoved*, ld German *houpit*, Modern German *haupt*, English *head*. hese words are undoubtedly all the same, though the

identity of κεφαλή and *head*, for instance, without a knowledge of the other words, might probably be questioned. But the changes in the letters are made according to analogy: thus *c* and *k*, at the beginning of words in Latin and Greek, correspond to *h* in the Teutonic languages, as Greek καρδ-ία, Latin *cor*, *cord-is*, Gothic *hairtô*, Old German *hêrza*, Modern German *herz*, English *heart*; so also Greek κύων κύν-ο-ς, Latin *cán-is*, Gothic *hunths*, German *hund*, English *hound*, the *d* at the end being a prolongation of the sound, on the same principle as the common people in this country say *gown-d*. Many similar instances might be quoted, as Greek κάνναβ-ις, Latin *cannab-is*, German *hanf*, English *hemp*; Latin *coll-um*, German *hals*; Greek κέρας, κέρατ-ος (the *τ* corresponds to *n*), Latin *corn-u*, Gothic *hawrn*, German and English *horn*; Greek σκῦτ-ος or κύτ-ος, Latin *cut-is*, German *haut*, English *hide*.

Oculus.

Oc-ulus is a diminutive, apparently from a lost form *oc-us*, and contains the same root as the Sanskrit *aksha*, Greek ὄκ-ος, Gothic *augô*, Old German *ouga*, Modern German *auge*, English *eye*, where the guttural is dropt. This root *oc* is the same as οπ, occurring in ὄπ-σομαι (ὄψομαι), ὄπ-ωπ-α, &c., and we mention this to call the attention of the student to the change of *c* and *p*, which frequently takes place in other words. Thus ποῦ, πῶ, πότε, &c., are written in the Ionic dialect κοῦ, κῶ, κότε; and πέπ-τω or πέσσ-ω (compare the adjective πέπ-ων, ripe), λείπ-ω, λύκ-ος, ἕπ-ομαι, are written in Latin *coqu-o*, *li*[*n*]*qu-o*, *lup-us*, *sequ-or*. It was one of the peculiarities of the Oscan language, to use *p* where the Latins had *qu*; thus they said *pid* for *quid*. *Proximus* the superlative of *prope* (*prop*[*c*]-*simus*) shews a similar change.

Καθαρός.

If we compare καθ-αρός with such words as φλυ-αρός, πιν-αρός, λιπ-αρός, χλι-αρός, it is evident that καθ must be the root, which does not occur in a simple form in the Greek language, but is the same as the Sanskrit verb *sudh*, "to purify." The *s* in this verb is the palatal sibilant in the Sanskrit alphabet, and this sibilant corresponds to *k* and *c* in Greek and Latin, as Sansk. *svan*, "a dog," Gr. κύων; Sansk. *pasu*, "an animal," Lat, *pecus*; Sansk. *dacan*, "ten," Lat. *decem*.

The Latin *cas-tus* and the German *keusch* are of the same root as the Sanskrit *sudh* and the Greek καθ-αρός.

Parricida.

This word is most generally supposed to be compounded of *pater* and *caedo*, and consequently a contracted form of *patricida*. But there are two objections to this etymology. The first is, that the word did not originally signify the murderer of a father, but any person who killed another, *dolo malo*[2]: it would, therefore, appear that *parricida* meant a murderer generally, and afterwards the murderer of certain persons in a near relationship. (See Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 286.) The second objection is, that there seems no analogy for the contraction of *patricida* into *parricida*, as the Romans said *matricida*, *fratricida*, *patrimonium*, *matrimonium*, &c.

In consequence of these objections to the etymology of *pater* and *caedo*, various others have been proposed. Priscian, who mentions the etymology given above, likewise gives the derivation of *par* and *caedo*, and of *parens* and *caedo*, both of which etymologies have been adopted by some modern writers. But in reply to the former of these, it may be remarked that the notion that all men are equal by nature is not a Roman notion, nor is it a fact that all Roman citizens had equal rights and privileges. Besides which, the word *pares* is never used by any Latin writer as equivalent to *cives*. The other etymology from *parens* and *caedo* (*parenticida*=*parricida*) is liable to the same objections as that of *pater* and *caedo*, and seems to have been invented by the jurists to make the etymology somewhat conformable to the signification of the word in the Lex Pompeia de Parricidiis.

Various other etymologies have been suggested by modern writers, but the most recent of all, and perhaps the most probable, though still not entirely satisfactory, has been propounded by Dr. Osenbrüggen, in his able essay *Das Altrömische Paricidium*," in the *Kieler Philologische Studien*,

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[2] Festus says: "Parici quaestores appellabantur, qui solebant creari causa rerum capitalium quaerendarum. Nam parricida non utique is, qui parentem occidisset, dicebatur, sed qualemcunque hominem indemnatum. Ita fuisse indicat lex Numae Pompili regis, his composita verbis: SI QUI HOMINEM LIBERUM DOLO SCIENS MORTI DUIT PARICIDAS ESTO."

Kiel, 1841. Dr. Osenbrüggen calls in the assistance
parative Etymology, and supposes that the first par
word *pari*cida is the same as the Sanskrit *para* and th
παρά used in the same signification as in *παραπρ*
παραβαίνω. He remarks, that this prefix indicates t
action expressed by the verb or substantive is perfo
a perverted and improper manner, and that thus the
of the word given by this etymology is in accordance
original use.

Wm. S

XXIX.

MISCELLANIES.

Attempt at a Translation of Greek Chorics.

ipus Coloneus, 1670, &c. Song of Antigone, Ismene, and the Chorus. αἶ αἶ φεῦ 'στιν—κ. τ. λ.

(Compare above, p. 203, &c.)

Strophe A.

Antigone.—Alas! alas! no single grief
Weighs heavy on my soul;
Away the weary moments roll,
Each with its own dark sorrow laden—
Our sire's unhappy death the chief
And foremost of the dismal train—
We recked not of the toil or pain
We bore for him, though gentle maiden
Might well of such hard lot complain,
Whilst yet he lived the task to cheer,
But now!—unutterable woes appear—
Chor. What grieves thee, lady?
Antig. Friends, I scarce can tell—
Chor. Has *he* departed?
Antig. Even as we desired—
No fiery plague consumed him in its hell
Of torments, nor with idle struggles tired
Sank he beneath the Ocean's billowy roar,
But Mother Earth's wide-yawning chasms bore
His trembling form away, and he was seen no more—
Wretch that I am! and endless night
Closed his dim eyes for ever to the light—
Where shall we wander, on what distant shore,
Or stormy sea, to drag a life more heavy than before!

Strophe B.

Ismene. I know not, I!
I would that Hades' blood-stained king
Had borne me with my aged sire
Down to his deepest cave of death:
Life holds not aught that can repay such hopeless suffering.

Chor. Let us, ye noble children, soft inspire
More gentle thoughts, nor yield yourselves a prey
To grief, but learn to bear Jove's righteous sway
With patience, and look forth to happier destiny.

ANTISTROPHE A.

Antig. Even in our woes we felt a bliss,
And toil a sport became,
Whilst we embraced that aged frame—
Father! round whom thick darkness woven
Robes thee within the drear abyss,
Still shall the lamp of filial love
Burn in our breasts where'er we rove,
Till our sad hearts by Death are cloven—
Chor. Has he ——
Antig. Gone as he prayed and strove
To go ——
Chor. How then?
Antig. A foreign shore
Received his bones—he sleeps for evermore
Deep in his quiet bed, and feels no pain,
Yet tears will spring unbid when I recall
Thy dismal fate, nor can their scalding rain
Wash from my memory the bitter gall
Infused from thy fierce sufferings—or steep
My senses in forgetfulness.—I weep
To think that thou shouldst o'er Life's shadowy limits leap
In a strange land, and no one near
To close thine eyes, or strew thy lowly bier—
And I, unhappy wretch! was far away,
Nor caught the latest beams of thy expiring day.

ANTISTROPHE B.

Ismene. Unhappy I!
I pass into world of woe,
Deserted thus—
Oh! where shalt thou, dear sister, fly?
Cold is our parent's loving heart, and whither shall we go?
Chor. But since a happy fate was his, and he
Reached with a quiet mind Life's gloomy goal,
Bewail not thus—but teach thy patient soul
To bear its griefs—for none can Fortune's course control.

STROPHE Γ.

Antig. Again, dear sister, let us go—
Ism. Ah! whither wouldst thou roam?
Antig. I feel the strong desire—
Ism. Of what?
Antig. To see the last long home.
Ism. Of whom?
Antig. My father, hapless me! where he interred doth lie.
Ism. This may not be, poor blinded fool, that canst not yet descry.
Antig. Why chidest thou?
Ism. This simple fact—
Antig. This simple fact again!
Ism. Unburied lies his corse, and *where* is hid from mortal ken.
Antig. Lead me, and slay me on his grave——

* * * * *

Ism. Alas! unhappy girl! deserted and alone,
Where shall a maiden spend her life, forgotten and unknown?

ANTISTROPHE Γ.

Chor. Be not alarmed, my gentle friends—
Antig. But whither shall I fly?
Chor. You have escaped before—
Antig. From what?
Chor. From a like destiny.
Antig. Thought fills my mind—
Chor. What thinkest thou?
Antig. How we shall reach our home
I cannot tell.
Chor. 'Tis weak to think of toils that ne'er shall come—
Antig. Grief drowns my soul—
Chor. And so before.
Antig. All bounds were overpass'd—
Chor. Deep in a stormy sea of woes have ye been sternly cast—
Antig. Yes, yes—
Chor. I cannot but assent.
Antig. Alas! I know not where our steps are bent—
Guide us, Almighty Jove! the last faint flick'ring ray
That Hope had kindled in my breast, is dying fast away.

J. ECCLESTON.

On the Word ἀλίαστος.

Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* α, 1326) has the line:—

ἦ, καὶ κῦμ' ἀλίαστον ἐφέσσατο νειόθι δύψας:

on which the scholiast explains ἀλίαστον by πολύ. The passage, however, is an imitation of Hom. *Il.* ω, 96:—

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα σφι λιάζετο κῦμα θαλάσσης,

and shews that Apollonius connected ἀλίαστος with λιάζομαι. The meaning of the Homeric passage is, that "the wave ebbed, or made way for them." κῦμ' ἀλίαστον is, therefore, an "unebbing, unretiring wave:"—

"This said, an unebbing wave he array'd him in, netherwards diving."

O. R.

Discovery of the Seven Missing Books of Galen's Principal Anatomical Work.

A very interesting and valuable discovery has lately been made at Oxford, which it seems right to lay before our readers, though we are almost afraid that its importance will be better understood and more justly appreciated in France and Germany than in Great Britain. It is well known that Galen's principal anatomical work, called Περὶ Ἀνατομικῶν Ἐγχειρήσεων, *De Administrationibus Anatomicis*, consisted originally of fifteen books, of which only eight and part of the ninth have come down to us. The contents of each book are mentioned by himself (*De Libris Propriis*, cap. 3, tom. xix. pp. 24, 25, ed. Kühn), from which account it appears that the last six treated of the eyes, tongue, œsophagus, larynx, os hyoides, the nerves belonging to these parts, the arteries, the veins, the nerves arising from the brain, those arising from the spinal marrow, and the organs of generation: so that Galen's account of several of the most important parts of the body is contained in the lost books. In Ackermann's *Historia Literaria* prefixed to Kühn's edition of Galen (p. lxxxiv.), we find the following notice:—"E Golii Arabico codice libros xi usque ad xv editurum se promiserat Thomas Bartholinus, *De Libris Legendis*, Dissert. iii. p. 75 [p. 58, ed. 1711]. Erant Galeni *De Administr. Anatom.* libri sex postremi cum adnotationibus Jacobi Golii in Bibliotheca Narcissi, Archiepiscopi Dublinensis, n. 1787." No further information on the subject could Ackermann (who was a most diligent and accurate inquirer) obtain; nor apparently could Kühn himself, who, in the last volume of his edition of Galen, corrects some errors and supplies some omissions. In turning over the pages of a very different work,

J. G. Wenrich's dissertation *De Auctorum Græcorum Versionibus et Commentariis Syriacis, Arabicis, Armeniacis, Persicisque* (Lips. 1842, 8vo.), we noticed that two copies of the Arabic translation were said (p. 245) to exist in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, one consisting of fifteen books, the other only of the last six. Upon referring to Uri's Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Bodleian (p. 135), we found that the latter manuscript was said to be in the hand-writing of Golius himself, that it had belonged at one time to Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, and was therefore probably the very MS. spoken of by Ackermann; and the actual examination of the two MSS. in question has shewn us that the modern one was copied from the other, the pages of the original being marked in the margin of the transcript. The original MS. is written on oriental paper, and by an oriental scribe, and contains the complete work of Galen in fifteen books. It was bought at Constantinople for forty-eight florins (rather a large price), but by whom is uncertain, nor is any thing else known of its history, except that it once belonged to the Archbishop of Dublin, though it does not appear in the list of his MSS. contained in the *Catalogus Librorum MSS. Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, printed in 1697. It appears to have been seen and used by Golius (a celebrated Arabic scholar at Leyden), who must have known that the Greek copies of the work contained only nine books, and accordingly copied the remaining six with a view to publication. He did not, however, transcribe the remainder of the ninth book, which is wanting in the Greek copies, and which is about twice as long as the portion hitherto known in Europe. The MS. was either given as a present by Golius, or bequeathed as a legacy at his death in 1667, to Thomas Bartholinus the elder, professor of anatomy at Copenhagen, and was in his possession in the year 1672, when he wrote his work *De Libris Legendis*. Probably after his death in 1680 it came into the hands of Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin, and appears in the catalogue quoted above. From him it came either by gift or legacy to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, where it still remains, together with the original MS. from which it was transcribed. It should be added that (as far as we are aware) no other copy of the Arabic translation is to be found in any European library; nor do any of the old Latin translations contain the last six books of the treatise.

W. A. G.

Eusebius's Chronicle, which proves that the text of Scaliger is not always genuine. It contains a list of the victors in the Olympic games, but the orthography is often incorrect, owing to the blunders, probably, of the Armenian scribe or translator, and the Greek text is unfortunately defective. In his translation of two passages from Pindar (Ol. III. 35, and v. 10), descriptive of the establishment of the Olympic games, the Doctor has not been very successful.

The Olympic years of Censorinus, the Julian Period, the Olympiads, and the years A.U.C., are arranged in parallel columns, and there made to synchronize with the era of Nabonassar, the Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar, the era of Augustus, and the Christian era. With these dates he connects the succession of the consuls, all which are verified by the calculation of several of the eclipses mentioned by Thucydides and those writers connected with this part of his subject. In ascertaining the date of the building of the city, the apparent discrepancies in ancient writers have created considerable difficulty. The conclusion Dr. Jarvis comes to, is, that these may be reduced to two only as worthy of consideration, viz.: that of Varro, Plutarch, and others, on one side, and that of Dionysins and Livy on the other, *i.e.* the third or fourth year of the sixth Olympiad. The various tables, however, connected with this part of the subject are most useful, and the system of the Sunday letters and golden number clearly and distinctly explained. This is followed by the development of the nature and use of the Julian Period, and the various cycles belonging to it. Dr. Jarvis shews that it is requisite to understand the Egyptian era of Augustus, in order not to be misled by the Chronology of Censorinus, in computing the beginning of the Augustan era at Rome, there being a difference of two years, four months, and one day between the two. The one dates from the taking of Alexandria, the other from the time of his receiving the title of Augustus. The list of the consuls is the last important matter considered. The series comprises one hundred years, from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius. These are put into juxta-position to the corresponding years of the Julian Period and the Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar. The difficulty here lies in the doubt of the actual date of the Spanish war, whether it occurred in the last year of confusion or the first of the Ref. Cal., which creates a difference of one year in the whole chronology. By a computation of eclipses and an investigation of facts connected with Julius Cæsar's consulates, Dr. Jarvis shews that the war in Spain occurred the year preceding the reform of the calendar, and therefore in the 4668th year of the Julian Period, and not the 4669th. It is subsequently shewn that Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the purple, three years and six-and-a-

Opera having to sing the following noble lines to a highly artificial air!" (P. 8.) And Mr. C. then proceeds to quote three verses from the fourth Olympic ode. Now as Mr. C. states that we know positively nothing of Greek music, or of the vocal effects of Greek accent and quantity, this argument really appears to us quite futile. We take Mr. Cookesley's notion to be an utter misconception of Greek lyric poetry. Both music and dancing were implied in the very idea of a Greek chorus, nor could an ode exist without them. That this was so, we learn from several passages of Pindar himself. We may not, indeed, be able to discover the exact nature of that music and dancing; we may even admit that Thiersch's theory respecting the former may very possibly be wrong in its details; but surely it must have been something very different from modern recitative, which would make but a poor tune for a dancer.

The object of M. De Jongh's work, which appears to have been undertaken at the instance, or at least by the encouragement, of Van Heusde, the Platonist, is to illustrate the wisdom of Pindar. The subject is treated in the German style of criticism; and a dissertation of three chapters is employed in examining Pindar's moral and religious sentiments, and in comparing them with those of other Greek writers. Of Pindar's text, only five Olympic odes are given, each accompanied with a Latin version and notes. These last will afford an opportunity of making a few remarks on each editor's reading of the text; and for this purpose we will take the first Olympic.

V. 6. We think M. De Jongh's interpretation of *ἐρήμη αἰθήρ*, viz. *vacuum sideribus cœlum*, a great deal more poetical than the commonplace epithet, *empty*. Moreover, we believe it to be true, or why should the poet add *ἐν ἁμέρᾳ*?

V. 7. *μήδ' αὐδάσομαι*. Mr. C. says that this is the Fut. 1. in the sense of the Imperative. Now, without quarrelling with an Imperative in the first person, we submit that this would run counter to the meaning of the whole passage. It would necessarily imply, that *there was* something more excellent which the poet might sing if he chose; whereas he has been establishing, by a rich profusion of comparisons, that such was not the case. On the other hand it will be said that, if Pindar used the Future here in its ordinary sense, he committed a solecism. We are not quite certain, however, that this was so; with regard, at least, to the practice of the older Greek writers, Lesbonax tells us that *μή* with the Future was used by the older Attics, that is, about the time of Antiphon, and also occasionally by Homer: and if this were so, there seems to be no good reason why Pindar also might not have employed such a syntax (*Τῶν δὲ Ἀττικῶν τὸ συντάσσειν τὸ μὴ μετὰ μέλλοντος χρόνου—μὴ πείσομαι—ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν περὶ*

Αντιφῶντα, σπανίως δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος κέχρηται. Περὶ Σχημ. p. 186. Valckn. *Ammonius*). Traces of a different usage of μὴ from that which afterwards obtained may, we believe, be found in Thucydides; and how often may these older forms have been changed by more recent transcribers? M. De Jongh makes no remark on this passage.

V. 28. ἢ θαύματα πολλά. On this contested passage Mr. C. adduces the readings of Heyne and Hermann, but decides for neither; leaving his *tirones* to grope their way out as they may. Hermann's rule is not stated quite correctly. He does not deny that the verb substantive can be understood except where it is an auxiliary, but, except where it is a *copula*. M. De Jongh has not yet made up his mind about the truth of this rule; but we think that it is so true as to be self-evident. Where the substantive verb is not used merely to join subject and predicate, but to affirm *existence*, it is plain that it contains the predicate; and without a predicate there can be no sentence. Mr. De J., —as Heyne also once thought, but afterwards abandoned,—makes θαύματα πολλά the subject of the verb ἐξαπατῶντι, in common with μῦθοι. But, though fables may deceive the minds of men, we do not see how a wonderful action or miracle can with propriety be said to do so; for, in that case, it would lose its proper nature, and instead of being a miracle would be only a deception. Mr. C. translates ἐξαπατῶντι by *corrupt*, which is not the meaning of the word. This is done to humour Böckh's text, which has φάτιν—obviously, as Heyne says, only a gloss or various reading, for the following λόγον—instead of the more common and better reading, φρένας.

V. 75. ἐς χάριν τέλλεται, Mr. C. renders—"are done so as to please you." This is certainly a vulgar, and probably a wrong, interpretation. Mr. De J.'s version is much more elegant: "Jucunda dona Cypridis age, si quâ, Neptune, gratiosa sunt."

V. 94. "κλέος has two subjects in this passage, namely, Pelops and the Olympic contests." Mr. C. We confess that we do not understand this. The genitive Ὀλυμπιάδων surely belongs to ἐν δρόμοις, though there may be two ways of construing the words: one, with Mr. De J. and Dissen, *gloria Pelopis quæ est in studiis Olympiadum;* the other with Hermann, in his Review of Dissen, "fernhin strahlt in der Olympiaden Wettlaüfen des Pelops Ruhm" (The fame of Pelops shines afar in the Olympic contests).

V. 104. Mr. C. construes—"I am sure I shall never adorn by my song any man, of all who are now living, more virtuous, or more renowned, or more powerful." We would defy the Captain of Etna himself to refer these words to their respective Greek ones. Here are three epithets bestowed on Hiero, when the poet, by the word ἀμφότερα, has clearly shewn that he meant to give him only two.

We do not see whence Mr. C. gets "more renowned," unless it be from κλυταῖσι. Surely this is very loose construing.

V. 109. "At γλυκυτέραν understand νικὰν or μέριμναν." Mr. C. So also says Heyne. But we think the adjective can refer only to νικάν, else how are we to construe σὺν ἅρματι θοῷ? Mr. De J. refers γλυκυτέραν to δδον; but that makes a very harsh and unintelligible construction.

A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church. By the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D.D. 1844. (W. J. Cleaver, Baker-street, Portman-square.)

The object of this work is, to be an introduction to a general ecclesiastical history. The first part contains an investigation of Roman chronology, from the year 776 *before* to 238 *after* the Christian era. The second comprises the history of our Saviour's life, and fixes the real year of his birth, the common date of which is notoriously incorrect. Dr. Jarvis explains, by a long quotation from Geminus, the different modes of computing time adopted by the Egyptians and Greeks, up to the date of the invention of the cycle of Meton, somewhere about 460 B.C. This writer, however, in mentioning the cycle of nineteen years, assigns its construction to three other astronomers, Euctemon, Philip, and Calippus, without mentioning Meton, whose name it bears, and to whom it is generally attributed. Our author avows his ignorance who Philip was, though he was a celebrated pupil of Plato, and a native of Medama (see Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* vol. IV. p. 10). The inference he draws from the quotation is, that the study of astronomical science among the Greeks originated in religious motives. This conclusion has lately been more fully developed by Karl Friedrich Hermann, in his dissertation *Ueber Griechische Monatskunde*, where he shews the connection between the various names of the months in the different Grecian states, and their oldest religious festivals. These very names were, in all probability, not given to the months till the ceremonies from which they were derived had been pretty generally celebrated. It is curious, at least, that very few of those which have come down to us relate, in any way, to the business of ordinary life, or even to the phenomena of nature which belong to the particular season of the year to which they were assigned. Where they do even *seem* to allude to these circumstances, there are other religious observances connected with the same period from which they *may* be derived. After shewing how the Olympiads were reckoned, Dr. Jarvis gives a complete table of them, from the Armenian version of

Eusebius's Chronicle, which proves that the text of Scaliger is not always genuine. It contains a list of the victors in the Olympic games, but the orthography is often incorrect, owing to the blunders, probably, of the Armenian scribe or translator, and the Greek text is unfortunately defective. In his translation of two passages from Pindar (Ol. III. 35, and v. 10), descriptive of the establishment of the Olympic games, the Doctor has not been very successful.

The Olympic years of Censorinus, the Julian Period, the Olympiads, and the years A.U.C., are arranged in parallel columns, and there made to synchronize with the era of Nabonassar, the Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar, the era of Augustus, and the Christian era. With these dates he connects the succession of the consuls, all which are verified by the calculation of several of the eclipses mentioned by Thucydides and those writers connected with this part of his subject. In ascertaining the date of the building of the city, the apparent discrepancies in ancient writers have created considerable difficulty. The conclusion Dr. Jarvis comes to, is, that these may be reduced to two only as worthy of consideration, viz.: that of Varro, Plutarch, and others, on one side, and that of Dionysius and Livy on the other, *i.e.* the third or fourth year of the sixth Olympiad. The various tables, however, connected with this part of the subject are most useful, and the system of the Sunday letters and golden number clearly and distinctly explained. This is followed by the development of the nature and use of the Julian Period, and the various cycles belonging to it. Dr. Jarvis shews that it is requisite to understand the Egyptian era of Augustus, in order not to be misled by the Chronology of Censorinus, in computing the beginning of the Augustan era at Rome, there being a difference of two years, four months, and one day between the two. The one dates from the taking of Alexandria, the other from the time of his receiving the title of Augustus. The list of the consuls is the last important matter considered. The series comprises one hundred years, from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius. These are put into juxta-position to the corresponding years of the Julian Period and the Ref. Cal. of Julius Cæsar. The difficulty here lies in the doubt of the actual date of the Spanish war, whether it occurred in the last year of confusion or the first of the Ref. Cal., which creates a difference of one year in the whole chronology. By a computation of eclipses and an investigation of facts connected with Julius Cæsar's consulates, Dr. Jarvis shews that the war in Spain occurred the year preceding the reform of the calendar, and therefore in the 4668th year of the Julian Period, and not the 4669th. It is subsequently shewn that Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the purple, three years and six-and-a-

half months before he became sole emperor in the sixth month of the forty-first year after the battle of Actium, and the seventy-third of Augustus' age. The eclipse of the sun, mentioned by Dion as occurring in the year of this emperor's death, but which Petavius and others have assigned to the following one, is accurately calculated by the Doctor, who decides in favour of the historians.

After concluding a summary of the history of Rome, from the birth of Augustus to the death of Tiberius, thirty-six days before the end of the 788th year A.U.C., Dr. Jarvis proceeds to that portion of his work which is most instructing to the chronological student, the correction of the Consular lists from A. D. 28, to A. D. 238, and the adjustment of the chronology of the emperors, from Caligula to the Maximini. To ascertain where the error, which occasioned a consulate to be lost, lies, we are furnished with lists in inverted order, given by Cassiodorus, Victorius, Idatius, and the Chronicon Paschale, the fixed starting point being the consulship of Ulpius and Pontianus, the 283rd year of the Ref. Cal.—A. D. 238,—as stated by Censorinus, to the 73rd year of the same cal., or A. D. 28, the consulate of the two Gemini. On looking at this tabular list, we find that "if we take A.J.P. 4741 from A.J.P. 4951, or A.D. 28 from A.D. 238, the difference is 210 years; and, consequently, excluding the consulship of A.D. 28, and including that of A.D. 238, there ought to be 210 pairs of consuls. Censorinus calls the consuls of A.D. 238 Ulpius and Pontianus; by Cassiodorus they are called Pius and Proculus; by Victorius, Ulpius Pius and Proculus; by Idatius, Pius and Pontianus; by the Chronicon Paschale, Ulpicius and Pontianus. This diversity may be easily reconciled. Censorinus is certainly the best authority for the names of the consuls in the year in which he wrote. Ulpius might easily be changed into Pius or Ulpicius; and Proculus was probably the prænomen of Pontianus. The consuls of A.D. 28 are rightly named by Cassiodorus, C. Rubellius and C. Fufius. Both, as Tacitus asserts, had the cognomen of Geminus. But for Fufius, several authors read Rufus; and he is thus called by Idatius and in the Chronicon Paschale. Victorius calls him Rufinus. Their consulship is familiarly called that of the two Gemini; 'Duobus Geminis Coss.' This has led the Greek compiler into the egregious mistake of making two consulships out of one; the former of which he calls Geminus and Geminus; the latter, Rufus and Rubellinus. Excluding the consulship of the two Gemini, we find, on counting the lists, that Cassiodorus has given 211, Victorius, 210, and Idatius, 208. The list in the Chronicon Paschale is unfortunately defective; but, by means of the Indictions, we are enabled to ascertain that exactly twenty years are missing. These, with the 171 preceding, and the seventeen which follow to the

consulship of Rufus and Rubellinus, make up 208. It is evident, therefore, that the number in the list of Victorius is right; that in the list of Cassiodorus there is an *excess* of *one*; and in the other two lists a *defect* of *two* consulships." After comparing the different accounts, which he sees no difficulty in reconciling up to that time, in A.D. 160 he finds the flaw, which we give in his own words.

"A.D. 161—A.D. 160. The next two consulships in the ascending series, according to Cassiodorus, were A.D. 161, the two Augusti; and A.D. 160, Antoninus V. and Aurelius III. Victorius, beside the two Augusti, has inserted the consulships of Antoninus and Aurelius twice. Idatius has confounded the two consulships of the two Augusti and Antoninus and Aurelius, blending them into one; 'Antonio V. et Aurelio Cæs. duobus Augustis.' The Chronicon Paschale, on the other hand, distinguishes the two consulships, but confounds the persons omitting the name of Antoninus, and supposing both to have been borne by Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher, and his colleague, Lucius Verus; 'A.D. 161, Marco Aurelio Vero et Lucio Commodo Augusto III.; A.D. 160, Marco Aurelio Vero et Lucio Commodo Augusto II.' The modern critics, having mistaken the year of J. Cæsar's war in Spain, and placed that war one year later than it ought to be, have been obliged to omit one of these consulships. They have, therefore, neglected the testimony of Cassiodorus, and, by comparing Idatius with the Chronicon Paschale, have thought to correct both by representing thus the consulship of A.D. 161:

M. Aur. Verus Antoninus Cæs. III. dictus Philosophus.

L. Ælius Aur. Verus. Cæs. II. dictus etiam Commodus.

"They have, therefore, suppressed entirely the consulship of A.D. 160, Antoninus Pius Imp. Aug. V., and M. Ælius Aurelius Cæsar III., which are correctly stated by Cassiodorus." He then goes through the remainder of the list, the accuracy of which is tested by the history of the Emperors, from Tiberius to the year 238, when Censorinus wrote. The numerical calculations in this period of the history are so accurately made as to prove, with almost mathematical precision, that, when the necessary corrections have been made, after comparing the statements of different writers, the exact length of each reign can be determined in connection with the consulships of each; because the aggregate number of years corresponds with the number of the consulships. "Then," says the author, "no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the problem is solved with regard to the adjustment of the ancient and modern computations of time." Proceeding upon these data, he shews the birth of Jesus Christ to have taken place die 25, 4707, J. P., on the 5th day of the 9th month, A.U.C. 747, and in the year in which Augustus closed the temple of Janus for the third time.

THE EPODES, SATIRES, AND EPISTLES OF HORACE. Translated by the late Rev. Francis Howes. 1845. 12mo. (London: Pickering.)

WE approach this little book with some feeling of tenderness, as it appears to result from the elegant amusement of an accomplished gentleman, and is, moreover, edited with a manifest affection by a relative of the deceased. It is a translation, on what we may call the principles of the last century, which required little more than that a poem in Latin should have a corresponding poem in English; and, judged by that standard, we may even call it faithful—just as faithful as might be expected from a gentleman who merely alludes to the translation of Francis as "flat and insipid," and seems to think that with less flatness and less insipidity a good translation may be approached.

These notions are not ours. We consider that translations of the Francis-school are wrong, not in degree, but in kind—that they are not, in fact, reproductions of the ancient authors. The following are the very first lines in Mr. Howes's book:—

> Your light Liburnian bark shall skim the wave,
> To dare the floating bulwark's frown;
> Resolved, for Cæsar's sake, each risk to brave,
> And make his weal or woe your own.
> Meanwhile for *us*, Mæcenas, what were meet,
> What must a fond retainer do,
> To whom, while lives his patron, life is sweet,
> But owns no charm possessed of you?

This is nice writing, and the sentiment of tenderness is very pleasingly conveyed. But how much is here that is not Horace! "propugnacula" is converted into the *frown* of the bulwarks, the simple "ibis" becomes "skim the wave," and the position of dependence on Mæcenas is stated ("What can a fond retainer do?") without a word referring to it in the original. We turn to the first Satire, and there we find,—

> ——— the merchant tost by storms at sea,
> Exclaims, "The soldier's is the life for me;
> For why—the trumpet summons to the fray,
> And death or glory quickly crowns the day."

The pregnant, concise expression, "concurritur," is rendered by "the trumpet summons to the fray."

We do not blame Mr. Howes for these licenses. We believe he followed, as a matter of course, a mode of translation sanctioned by

dini were without exception Italians: and the last-mentioned writer especially had been long regarded by them with a kind of reverential awe. Hence it could not be expected that they would readily give way to the authority of a band of foreigners who sought to dethrone the objects of their long-established worship, and attacked without hesitation and remorse those positions which they had been accustomed to regard as determined beyond the possibility of question.

To this cause, as well as to the ignorance of the German language so universal in Italy, and unfortunately in some degree also to the effect of mere national prejudice, must be ascribed the very slight influence exercised by the researches of German scholars upon the more recent Italian works on Roman topography. The *Roma Antica* of Professor Nibby, published in 1838, still retains all the articles of the received creed of the last century, and still speaks both of Nardini himself, and his fallacious guides, P. Victor and Sextus Rufus, with the same blind reverence as if their authority had never been impugned. The *Indicazione Topografica di Roma Antica* of the Cavaliere Canina displays more originality and independence of spirit, yet it is still deficient in that critical investigation and comparison of the ancient authorities which must necessarily form the foundation of any sound investigations of this subject. M. Canina indeed, by profession an architect, is naturally one of those whose object is rather to restore the ancient edifices, and represent afresh the architectural grandeur and magnificence of the ancient city, than to trace out minutely the topographical details so interesting to the classical scholar.

The last remark may be applied in some degree to all the Italian writers of comparatively modern times. With the ruins of the ancient city—the relics of its splendour under the imperial rule—ever before their eyes, it was to these that their attention was in the first instance directed; and their immediate object was to affix names to every ancient edifice,—to find a purpose and a denomination for every fragment of ancient masonry. It is evident that this method of investigation could give at best but a correct guide-book to the existing remains, not a complete description of the ancient city. Above all, it had the disadvantage that it could do little towards retracing the lineaments of Rome as it existed under the republic; yet it is with this that are associated all our most stirring recollec-

tions; it is the city of brick, not the city of marble,—Rome such as she was in the days of Gracchus or of Cicero,—that the true lover of antiquity would strive to picture to himself. The general scholar may be content to leave it to the architect or local antiquary to decide whether the picturesque ruin called the Temple of Minerva Medica belonged to the Thermæ of Caius and Lucius, or to the gardens of Gallienus; he may look with comparatively little interest on such remains as those near Santa Croce, miscalled the Temple of Venus and Cupid, but he wants to know with exactness the course of the Sacred Way; to be able to trace the triumphal route of the victorious general, or to follow the solemn procession of the virgins from the Carmental Gate to the Temple of Juno on the Aventine. But it would be unjust to the Italian scholars above alluded to, to mention their names without bearing testimony to the zeal, assiduity, and research with which they have prosecuted their inquiries in the field they have more particularly chosen for themselves. The researches of M. Canina, in particular, have thrown great light upon many points connected with the localities around the Forum; and the works of Nibby have also furnished many valuable contributions in matters of detail, though he has been cramped and fettered by too scrupulous an adherence to those general views which he had been accustomed to regard as established.

The writers on Roman topography may thus be considered as divided for some time past into two principal schools, the Italian and the German*; the former attaching themselves more particularly to the investigation of the existing monuments, and making use of the authority of ancient writers rather as a subsidiary resource, than as the first and primary source of information; the latter adopting more exclusively the historical mode of inquiry, and appealing only for occasional assistance to the relics of ancient buildings: the Italians still looking up to Nardini as their great leader, and following with implicit faith the guidance of the so-called Regionarii, P. Victor and Sextus Rufus; while the Germans reject with uncompromising boldness the authority both of the one and the other.

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* The work of Mr. Burgess, which appeared nearly at the same time with the *Beschreibung*, though the production of an Englishman, may be regarded as belonging in all essential characters to the Italian school.

But within the last few years, and before the views of M. Bunsen and his colleagues had been yet fully given to the world[1], a fresh opposition to them has arisen, and a far more formidable attack has been made upon them, originating, it may be said, from the heart of their own camp. M. Wilhelm Adolph Becker, professor at the University of Leipzig, and already favourably known to the learned world by his works entitled *Gallus* and *Charikles*, published in 1842 a little treatise, *De Romæ veteris Muris atque Portis*, apparently designed as a prelude to the more elaborate and complete examination of the topography of the ancient city, which appeared the following year, and constitutes the first volume of his *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*. M. Becker has evidently prepared himself for his inquiries in this field by that which can alone constitute a sound foundation for such investigations—the careful and systematic examination and comparison of all those passages in the ancient writers which bear directly or indirectly upon the subject. To the application of the materials thus prepared, he has likewise brought the great advantages of a sound judgment and a free and independent spirit, unfettered by the trammels of a blind reverence for authority. Unfortunately, he has allowed himself to be carried by this spirit into the contrary extreme, and not content with exercising his own unbiassed judgment, and freely criticizing the views of his predecessors, he has censured their deficiencies in the most unmeasured terms, and constantly depreciated their merits, even when he has been himself reaping the fruits of their labours. Not only does he speak in the most disparaging and contemptuous terms of almost all the Italian writers, but M. Bunsen and his colleagues come off little better at his hands; and he boldly proclaims the necessity of altogether emancipating Roman topography from the uncritical and unscientific spirit in which it had hitherto been followed. But though he can by no means be considered as a follower of Bunsen or Niebuhr, against whose authority he has openly raised the standard of revolt, M. Becker may still un-

[1] The last volume of the *Beschreibung*, containing the description of the Circus Flaminius, the Campus Martius, and the Trastevere, the topographical parts of which are written by Professor Urlichs, was not published till *after* the *Handbuch* of M. Becker, though bearing on the title-page the date of 1842.—See Urlichs' *Röm. Topogr. in Leipzig*, p. 137.

questionably be classed with the writers of the German rather than the Italian school of topography. He agrees with the former, not only in the general method and scope of his investigations, which are strictly historical, and directed mainly to the elucidation of the classical writers, rather than the illustration of existing monuments, but in most of those leading points which may be considered as marking the broad lines of separation between the two sects—such, for instance, as the position of the Roman Forum, and the relative situations of the Temple of Jupiter and the citadel on the Capitoline hill. Still more markedly does he adopt their views in regard to the Regionarii, and in rejecting altogether the authority of Nardini, concerning whom he expresses himself with a degree of vehemence almost ludicrous[2].

M. Becker's work possesses two great advantages over the *Beschreibung* which must ever recommend it to the general scholar. The first of these is, that, from its object being confined to the ancient topography of the city, it is not intermingled with the mass of extraneous and miscellaneous matter, which, however valuable in itself, has had the effect of rendering the *Beschreibung* inaccessible to the great majority of students, from the bulky and expensive form that it necessarily assumed: the other is the practice which he has uniformly adopted of quoting at full length at the foot of every page all the passages of ancient authors on which he relies as authorities, or which have any immediate bearing upon the points under discussion. By this means he has supplied to the scholar, within the compass of a single octavo volume, not only a complete summary of his own views upon Roman topography, but the means of checking and correcting those views at every step, and all the materials necessary for arriving at a distinct conclusion, wherever such conclusions are attainable. The want of the last addition was a deficiency that had long been keenly felt by the readers of the *Beschreibung*, and has contributed, it may be suspected, at least as much as the voluminous character of the work itself, to diminish the number of those readers.

Meanwhile it naturally happened that the sweeping censures and unsparing severity with which M. Becker visited the works

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[2] "Jam vero paullo post Donatum exorta est atrox ac paene exitiabilis topographiae Romanae calamitas, Famianus Nardini, homo natus ad confundenda perturbandaque omnia."—*De Romae vet. Muris atque Portis*, p. 3.

of his predecessors in the same field of inquiry, would draw down on him in return attacks and replies from various quarters. The first of these which appeared, was a review of his two books in the *Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, written by M. Preller at Rome, with the assistance, as it would appear, of some of the leading antiquarians in that city. This circumstance may account for the fact that while the reviewer bestowed much and well-deserved praise upon the general merits of M. Becker's work, he took up against him in many individual points the defence of the *Italian* side of the question, more particularly that of the views of M. Canina. Hence his review may be considered in great measure as a manifesto of the Italian school. As such M. Becker treated it, and immediately replied to it by a pamphlet bearing the somewhat offensive title *Die Römische Topographie in Rom, eine Warnung*. (Leipzig, 1844.) In this little work, while he answers the criticisms and refutes the arguments of his reviewer with an asperity and virulence certainly not called for by the temperate tone adopted by M. Preller, he at the same time threw out a distinct challenge to M. Urlichs, Professor at the University at Bonn (on whom after the departure of M. Bunsen from Rome the topographical part of the *Beschreibung* had wholly devolved), to take up the gauntlet in defence of himself and his colleague. M. Urlichs was not slow to obey the call, and in a pamphlet entitled *Römische Topographie in Leipzig*, published in the spring of 1845, as well as in a paper subsequently inserted in the *Classical Museum*, he undertook to examine the positions and sift the arguments brought forward by M. Becker. It is much to be regretted that, as he followed his antagonist in affixing to his reply a party title, so also he has allowed himself to be seduced into the language and style of a partisan, and has indulged in personal allusions or scornful invective, such as can never be calculated to promote the discovery of truth. Two other pamphlets have since appeared:—an answer by Professor Becker, and a rejoinder from M. Urlichs:—but these have been principally occupied with the discussion of minor and collateral points, and in regard to the main questions have done little more than repeat and restate the arguments already adduced.

Disfigured as it has unfortunately been by much of unnecessary virulence and idle recrimination, the controversy thus called forth has not been without its use. Both parties have

adduced their evidence and put forth their arguments upon the several points at issue between them: the cause has been fully heard, and it is now open to any scholar who has made himself acquainted with the facts of the case to pronounce his judgment upon the result. Of this result it will be my object in the following pages to put the reader as far as possible in possession; and keeping clear to the utmost of my power of all minor points incidental to the controversy, to point out the broad and leading features which may be looked on as established with reasonable certainty, or on the other hand to indicate those points concerning which we can only arrive at a balance of conflicting testimony.

Before entering, however, upon the special questions under discussion, it may be well to cast a glance upon the present state of Roman topography in general, and to point out briefly the position in which it was found by M. Bunsen, and that to which it attained under his auspices. It is only by such a review that we can arrive at a fair estimate of the services rendered to the cause of true learning by the authors of the *Beschreibung* on the one hand, or by M. Becker on the other. For the latter is too apt to forget, while criticizing the labours of his predecessors, how much he himself owes to them. Coming to the subject after the rubbish has been cleared away, and the path rendered comparatively easy, he does not sufficiently bear in mind the exertions that were necessary to prepare the way. Standing on a vantage ground from whence he is able to discern the errors of the writers who had preceded him, he forgets that it is to those writers he is indebted for placing him in the position which he is so fortunate as to occupy.

Such a preliminary review seems also the more necessary, because there is much reason to believe that the topographical labours of M. Bunsen are still but little known in this country: and though his name is familiar to every scholar, the number of his readers has probably been small; fewer still must be those who have entered sufficiently into the details of the subject to feel themselves competent to estimate his merits at their just value. And it is one of the evils necessarily resulting from the method which he has unfortunately adopted, of keeping back the authorities on which he rests his conclusions, that his readers have not the means presented to them of distinguishing those which are sound from the unsound. They are compelled to re-

ceive his *dicta* either with implicit faith or with general mistrust. Hence, as soon as his authority is overthrown in some particulars, and they find that their guide is not infallible, they rush into the opposite extreme, and follow M. Becker in comprising in one sweeping condemnation the "uncritical spirit of the Italians," and "the hasty, unfounded assumptions of the *Beschreibung*."

The topography of the "Eternal City" was a subject which had more or less occupied the attention of scholars from the first revival of learning in Italy: and before the middle of the fifteenth century, Poggio Bracciolini had recorded, in a passage familiar to most readers through the medium of Gibbon's paraphrase, the aspect presented in his days by the ruins of the imperial city. His object was not, however, to enter into any detailed description or investigation of ancient Rome: but this was done just about the same time by another Italian, though like Poggio also a stranger at Rome—Biondo Flavio, of Forli, whose work entitled *Roma Instaurata*, dedicated to Pope Eugenius IV., and therefore composed between the years 1431 and 1447[3], is the first regular treatise upon Roman topography. That such a first attempt should contain numerous errors was inevitable, but it is in all respects a remarkable production; and when we consider the state of classical learning at the period when it was composed, as well as the mass of vulgar errors and absurd misnomers from which it was necessary for the author to extricate himself, we cannot but agree with M. Bunsen in terming it a "gigantic stride" towards the development of the truth. This work became in great measure the foundation of the labours of succeeding writers, of whom the most important were Andrea Fulvio, Lucio Fauno, and Bartolomeo Marliano. To the last of these we are indebted for a concise, but condensed and accurate description of Rome, which, adopting all that was valuable in the researches of his predecessors, and discarding many of their errors, may be considered as the complete representative of the first period of Roman topography. As such, it deservedly found a place in the great collection of Grævius, and must still continue to claim the attention of

[3] It was first published at Verona, in 1482; afterwards at Venice in 1510, and by Froben at Basle, among the works of Biondo, in 1559. A so-called translation of it in Italian was published by Lucio Fauno in 1548, but the translator has omitted many passages of the original work. See an instance mentioned in the appendix to this article, p. 379.

the student; M. Bunsen has justly observed that in many points it has never been surpassed: and we shall have frequent occasion to observe hereafter how often his views, after having been rejected by his successors, have been again adopted by the latest writers, and may now be regarded as established with certainty.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the numerous writers, who from the middle of the sixteenth to that of the seventeenth century, contributed to the illustration of this subject[4]. The works of Panvinius, Fabricius, Fulvius Ursinus, and many others, while they contributed additions or corrections more or less important in the details, did not effect any revolution in the general views entertained by their predecessors. A great reputation was obtained for a time by the treatise of the Jesuit Alessandro Donato, published in 1638, but this also was soon eclipsed by the *Roma Antica* of Famiano Nardini, a work which from the time of its first appearance in 1666 (after the author's death), to the commencement of the present century, was regarded as the standard authority upon this subject. It is not altogether easy to account for the very exaggerated reputation obtained by this work; something may be attributed to its being composed in Italian instead of Latin, but probably more to the character for learning which the author appears to have enjoyed during his lifetime, and the expectations consequently entertained: it was distinguished also by the novelty of its views, and the boldness with which the author set aside long-established opinions in order to substitute his own theories. Yet, on any explanation, it is impossible not to regard the credit so long obtained by Nardini, as a very unfavourable symptom of the state of classical learning during the period of his influence. His fame indeed, as is often the case, was established only by degrees: in the works of Fabretti and Montfaucon, published before the end of the same century, he is frequently visited with severe and well-merited censure; but throughout the eighteenth century his authority appears to have been regarded as paramount[5], and the publication of a new edition of his work as late

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[5] The work of the Marchese Venuti, published in 1763, which obtained in its own day a great reputation, though it added in fact very little to our knowledge, follows the views of Nardini in almost all points of importance. The last edition of this work (Roma, 1824, 2 vols. 4to.) is enriched by the valuable notes of Stefano Piale, which are worth far more than the original text.

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It is unnecessary to dwell upon the numerous writers, who from the middle of the sixteenth to that of the seventeenth century, contributed to the illustration of this subject[4]. The works of Panvinius, Fabricius, Fulvius Ursinus, and many others, while they contributed additions or corrections more or less important in the details, did not effect any revolution in the general views entertained by their predecessors. A great reputation was obtained for a time by the treatise of the Jesuit Alessandro Donato, published in 1638, but this also was soon eclipsed by the *Roma Antica* of Famiano Nardini, a work which from the time of its first appearance in 1666 (after the author's death), to the commencement of the present century, was regarded as the standard authority upon this subject. It is not altogether easy to account for the very exaggerated reputation obtained by this work; something may be attributed to its being composed in Italian instead of Latin, but probably more to the character for learning which the author appears to have enjoyed during his lifetime, and the expectations consequently entertained: it was distinguished also by the novelty of its views, and the boldness with which the author set aside long-established opinions in order to substitute his own theories. Yet, on any explanation, it is impossible not to regard the credit so long obtained by Nardini, as a very unfavourable symptom of the state of classical learning during the period of his influence. His fame indeed, as is often the case, was established only by degrees: in the works of Fabretti and Montfaucon, published before the end of the same century, he is frequently visited with severe and well-merited censure; but throughout the eighteenth century his authority appears to have been regarded as paramount[5], and the publication of a new edition of his work as late

[4] An excellent review of all preceding writers upon the subject will be found in M. Bunsen's preface to the *Beschreibung*.

[5] The work of the Marchese Venuti, published in 1763, which obtained in its own day a great reputation, though it added in fact very little to our knowledge, follows the views of Nardini in almost all points of importance. The last edition of this work (Roma, 1824, 2 vols. 4to.) is enriched by the valuable notes of Stefano Piale, which are worth far more than the original text.

as the year 1818, with the addition of some learned notes by the late Professor Nibby, then quite a young man, as well as the advantage of additional plans and illustrations, could not but serve to confirm the authority so long conceded to him. Symptoms of a disposition to throw off the yoke had however already appeared among Italian antiquarians; Piale in particular had the merit of restoring to the forum of Augustus and the temple of Mars Ultor, their true appellations, and the still greater boldness to return to the view of the earlier topographers concerning the position of the Roman forum, which subsequent discoveries have established beyond a doubt. But it was reserved for the authors of the *Beschreibung*, or rather for M. Bunsen, to whom we owe all the topographical investigations in the first volume of that work, to raise openly the standard of revolt against the authority of Nardini, and shatter in pieces the idol so long worshipped with superstitious reverence. It is on this account more especially that the appearance of that work is to be regarded as the opening of a new era in Roman topography; and had M. Bunsen no other merit than the overthrow of long-established prejudices, and the reopening the field of fair and free discussion, which he has thus effected, he would still have conferred an inestimable benefit on the cause of truth, and the progress of antiquarian science.

But Nardini was not the only idol whom it was necessary to remove, before the field of inquiry could be cleared from the confusion which had so long enveloped it. There remained two others whose power had been far longer established, and whom it must have appeared still more presumptuous to assail. Every one who has bestowed the slightest attention upon Roman topography must be familiar with the names of Publius Victor and Sextus Rufus, to whom are ascribed two catalogues of the public buildings and monuments of ancient Rome, arranged according to the order of the regions of Augustus. It is evident that such an enumeration, if authentic and accurate, would be of the highest value, and accordingly we find these catalogues frequently cited by the earlier topographers, while Nardini adopted them as the basis on which he mainly rested his investigations. Yet it could hardly have escaped the attention of any well-informed scholar that many things in these lists were in direct contradiction to well-known passages in classical writers; others as clearly proceeded only from a misconception of such passages. Great obscurity also existed con-

cerning the names of the supposed authors and the period at which they lived; and it was even asserted that no authority could be found in the MSS. for the names themselves. These circumstances had led M. Bunsen to the conclusion that they must be discarded as uncertain and treacherous guides, when the proofs were pointed out to him by M. Emiliano Sarti that the catalogues in question were palpably not the work of any ancient authors, even of the 4th or 5th century, but, in their present state at least, the mere patchwork of some learned man since the revival of letters[6], and certainly not older than the 15th century: the foundation of them both being no other than a third catalogue of the same kind appended to the *Notitia Imperii*, and commonly cited under that name, but which, from its comparative meagreness had found little favour with former topographers[7]. This important discovery at once removed the chief stumbling-block that had stood in the way of former inquirers into the subject: M. Bunsen adopted without hesitation the views of M. Sarti, which are indeed supported by evidence so irresistible, that it is difficult to understand how any one can

[6] It is thus that the documents in question are described by M. Bunsen (*Beschr.* I. p. 173): "In ihrer gegenwärtigen Gestalt ein Machwerk vom Ende des fünfzehnten und Anfang des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts;" and this appears to be fully established by the arguments he has brought forward, and by those which must be suggested by an impartial examination of the catalogues themselves. M. Becker goes farther, and pronounces them to be "a mere literary *fraud*" (ein reiner literärischer Betrug.—*Handb.* p. 711); a fact of which I can see no evidence. It is much to be regretted that M. Sarti has never fulfilled his intention of giving to the world a full development of his views upon this point, which as a mere *literary* question is full of difficulties, however clear it may be that these once so much valued catalogues are of no *topographical* worth. The proofs of this latter point, as well as a few remarks on the literary question, will be found in the form of an appendix to the present article.

[7] Nardini, who has made the pseudo-Victor and Rufus the basis of his whole work, speaks thus slightingly of the *Notitia*: — "La descrizione, che è nella Notizia dell' Impero, essere stata fatta da Autore antico, io non dubito: ma vedendo nelle Regioni di Constantinopoli descritti minutamenti i siti, e i confini con grande esattezza, in quelle di Roma un magro trascorso, e di più scorgendovi diversi errori manifesti, *ed a Vittore e Rufo contrarj*, li dubito fatti da alcun' Orientale, delle cose di Roma non pratico affatto; e perciò in darle fede intera converrà andare con piè più lento che di testuggine." (*Roma Antica*, tom. I. p. 133.) The danger is now the other way, and a strong tendency is observable in the late German topographers to attach an exaggerated importance to every statement of the *Notitia*, now become their sole remaining guide of this description. It must be carefully borne in mind that this catalogue cannot have been compiled earlier than the fifth century, and bears in its present form the most unequivocal marks of the barbarism and ignorance of the copyists by whom it has been transmitted to us.

refuse his assent to the inference when once pointed out. Yet the Italian writers on Roman topography have shewn a marked unwillingness to discard their long-valued guides: at the same time that they have not attempted to oppose the proofs of their adversaries, nor brought forward any arguments in defence of the authenticity of the two writers. Nibby, in his *Roma Antica e Moderna*, published in 1839, ten years after the discovery of M. Sarti was announced to the world, refers continually to P. Victor and Sextus Rufus, without a hint that any suspicion had been cast upon their authority[8]; and the Cav. Canina gave to the world, in 1841, a third edition of his *Indicazione Topografica di Roma Antica*, in which the supposed catalogues of those two authors are given in full at the commencement of each region, and followed with unhesitating deference.

Thus freed from the trammels which had fettered his predecessors, but deprived also of some supposed auxiliaries, it only remained for M. Bunsen to make the utmost use of those resources which were still at his command. So much of the character of all works upon Roman topography must depend upon the mode in which these materials are applied and made use of, that it is necessary to say a few words upon their nature and character, before we can judge fairly of their application in any particular case.

The first and most important source of information must ever be drawn from the classical writers of antiquity themselves; and it is the first duty of the topographer diligently to collect, compare, and study all those passages which bear in any degree upon questions connected with the localities of the ancient city. The industry of earlier scholars had already brought forward all the more obvious of these, and there remained but comparatively scanty gleanings for those of our own days. Still there was much to be done, and ample scope still remained for the enlarged range of modern philology, and the improved spirit of criticism. Above all, in reference to all that was connected with the earliest ages of Rome, it was necessary to consider both the history and its writers from the altered point of view under which the researches of modern scholarship had

[8] I remark with surprise that the same thing occurs in Mr. C. Merivale's *History of Rome in the Augustan Age* (p. 70), published by the Society of Useful Knowledge.

placed them: after the profound investigations of Niebuhr it was no longer possible to receive every statement of Livy or Dionysius with the implicit confidence reposed in them by earlier writers. At the same time it must be remembered that all such statements, even if *historically* false, must be *topographically* true; that is to say, they could contain nothing at variance with the localities and their relations, which could not but be constantly present to the mind of the writers. Of those few classical works which bear more immediately upon the subject, it is deeply to be regretted, that of two of the most important, Varro and Pompeius Festus, the text is often either hopelessly corrupt, or so mutilated as to render it impossible to rely upon it with any degree of assurance. All that can be done towards restoring these texts has been effected by the late excellent editions of them, published by the lamented Karl Ottfried Müller[9]; yet it cannot be denied, that they are too often very unsafe guides for the topographer; and it is much to be wished that M. Bunsen had not allowed himself, in some instances, to build important inferences upon the words of a corrupt passage or a conjectural emendation. We shall hereafter see that one of the most exceptionable of his innovations rests almost entirely upon a false reading of a sentence of Varro.

In the examination and comparison of ancient authorities, the quality above all others necessary for the antiquarian and topographer, would seem to be *caution;* yet it is exactly that in which antiquarians are proverbially deficient. The notices preserved to us by ancient writers connected with the topography of Rome are unfortunately so scanty and meagre, for the most part purely *incidental,* and often expressed in a manner so insufficient for *our* instruction—though clearly enough intelligible to those for whom they were designed—that it is not to be wondered at if the modern inquirer, in seeking to derive from them all the information possible, will often force from them far more than they were meant to convey. Yet this is one of the faults to be most carefully guarded against. We must not

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[9] Both of these, however, appeared subsequently to the publication of the earlier volumes of the *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.* It is inconceivable how M. Preller could, *after* the publication of Müller's edition of Festus, cite the conjectural restoration of the text of that author as if it were the original.—See Becker's *Röm. Topogr. in Rom.* p. 29.

at all times construe the language of the ancient writers with too great strictness, nor expect from an historian or a poet a degree of rigid accuracy equal to that of a conveyancer, who is defining the boundaries of an estate. It must be confessed, that by thus doing it is frequently possible to attain a degree of apparent certainty, which is highly satisfactory for a time; one plausible inference supports another, until a goodly fabric is reared, of which the builder himself is too apt to forget how slight are the foundations. A state of suspense is so disagreeable to the human mind, that it is difficult not to be led away by one's own imagination to substitute this apparent reality for that vague uncertainty to which alone it is otherwise possible to attain; and to bear steadily in mind, that where the evidence is so imperfect as in the present case, a theory may often appear clear and consistent without being the more true. Too great a spirit of *constructiveness*, if I may be allowed to use the word, seems to me the besetting sin of M. Bunsen's topographical researches: on this account it is the more to be regretted that, by so rarely quoting his authorities, he has not supplied his readers with the power of checking his conclusions at every step [10]. Had he uniformly brought together at the foot of the page, as M. Becker has done, all the passages bearing upon the points immediately in question, it may well be doubted whether he would not have been led in some cases to modify his own views; he would certainly in several instances have caused his readers to do so.

Next to the ancient authorities may be mentioned those of the middle ages, from which, though much neglected by preceding topographers, more information is to be derived than might at first be conceived. The great use made of these auxiliaries is one of the distinguishing features of the new school of Roman topography: it was Niebuhr who first especially directed attention to this channel of information, and who even went so

[10] How far this deficiency will be supplied by the long-promised *Urkundenbuch* it is difficult to form a decided judgment until it shall have made its appearance, which M. Urlichs has promised us for next Easter: but even if this should completely answer the purpose, the mischief has still existed that for nearly sixteen years we have remained in many cases ignorant of the particular points upon which M. Bunsen has based his peculiar views. In regard to all questions connected with the Forum and its environs, the want has been indeed supplied by his Dissertations, published in the *Bullettino*, and *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*; but, unfortunately, these works are, in England at least, in the hands of but few scholars.

far as to lay down as a principle for the guidance of such investigations, that one should first make oneself acquainted with the modern city, then go back from thence to the Rome of the middle ages, and from that again to the ancient city[11]. Without at all denying the value of much that may be learned from the documents of the middle ages, it may be safely asserted that this doctrine goes a great deal too far. It may even be questioned whether it is *ever* safe to rely on the evidence of mediæval authorities, when unsupported by other and better proofs; least of all can we repose confidence in the mere traditional names handed down to us from those dark times, or which we find prevalent at the period of the first researches of reviving scholarship[12]. Far more valuable, because in general derived from a much earlier period, are the names frequently appended to the titles of churches, and which indicate the popular designation at the time of their erection of the quarter or locality in which they stood. Such are Santa Agata *alla Suburra*. Santa Maria *in Carinis*, Santa Caterina *sub Tarpeio*, and a host of others. Many of these churches have long since ceased to exist, and are known to us only from notices in ancient ecclesiastical writers, or the mention of the early topographers: the former are always worthy of attention, the latter require frequently to be received with caution[13]. Many scattered notices of antiquarian interest are also to be found in

[11] See Urlichs' *Röm. Topogr. in Leipzig*, p. 6.

[12] Several instances may be pointed out in which Niebuhr himself has been led into error, by reposing too much faith in such guides as these. One of the most striking of these is in regard to the well-known ruin, now commonly called the Temple of Minerva Medica, which that writer (*Beschreibung*, III. Th. 2, p. 307), adopting, in part, a view already put forward by Biondo Flavio, regards as having formed part of the Thermæ of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the grandsons of Augustus, on the *sole* ground that the ruins in question bore, in the fifteenth century, the vulgar name of "le Terme di Galluccio," or "le Galluzze;" notwithstanding that, as he himself admits, no mention occurs in any ancient writer of the existence of such Thermæ: to which it may be added, that the construction of the remains now existing is such as to render it impossible to refer them to the Augustan period. Nibby (*Roma Antica*, tom. II. p. 331) has pointed out, that the style of the brickwork is identical with that of the ruins known as the Tor de' Schiavi, and belonging to the reign of Gordian III. The accuracy of this criterion is one which can only be appreciated by those who have studied the ruins at Rome with a view to this particular point.

[13] A number of such notices are collected in the work of Martinelli (*Roma Sacra*, 8vo. Romæ, 1652), which is thus rendered of importance to the classical as well as the ecclesiastical antiquarian.

ficiently obvious, and have been turned to account by almost all modern writers. Numerous notices of the highest importance are scattered throughout the works of the early topographers, or expressly collected together (as in the *Memorie* of Flaminio Vacca, those of Bartoli, Ficoroni, &c.), recording discoveries and observations made in the course of accidental excavations, the finding of inscriptions, and other points tending to throw light upon matters connected with the localities of the ancient city.

The advantages to be derived from still extant inscriptions is also too obvious to require further notice. Unfortunately the utility of these has been in many cases greatly diminished by the loss of exact information concerning the spots where they were actually found. A complete collection of all those inscriptions which have any direct bearing upon Roman topography, would nevertheless be of the highest value to the inquirer into this branch of study[18]. Closely connected with this class of auxiliaries are the fragments, few and scanty as they unfortunately are, commonly known as those of the Capitoline Plan, a document which, if it had been fortunately preserved to us entire, would evidently have done more for our knowledge of Roman topography than all other sources whatsoever. This was nothing less than a complete plan of the city, laid down upon a very large scale on slabs of marble, which appear to have formed the pavement of some edifice, probably of a temple. From one of the fragments, we fortunately learn that it was constructed in the reign of Septimius Severus, while the city was yet at the height of its splendour and prosperity. Hence its indications are invaluable, wherever we have the means of applying them with certainty, but this is unfortunately very seldom the case. The portions preserved to us are such mere fragments, and generally so isolated, that they can hardly be assigned to their proper place, or brought into connection with any others. Even what was originally found has only been in part preserved, and many of the most important fragments are now known only by means of drawings made from them under the direction of Fulvius Ursinus, and from which those now in

[18] Among the most important auxiliaries of this class, is the inscription commonly known as the Basis Capitolina, of which some account will be found in the Appendix to the present article, p. 376.

the Capitol have been *recopied* upon marble. M. Canina has deserved well of the antiquarian world, by the pains he has bestowed upon the investigation of these remains; and, by careful comparison with the original drawings still preserved in the library of the Vatican, he has been enabled to distinguish clearly the restorations and transpositions which have in several cases disfigured the fragments actually preserved in the Capitol. He has also ascertained the exact scale of the original, a point of essential value in the application of the portions preserved to us; but to M. Becker belongs the credit of the still more important discovery that the plan was not arranged in the manner usual in modern times, so as to have the north side uppermost, but exactly the contrary; the spectator being supposed to have his face turned towards the south, after the manner of the augurs, when taking the auspices[19]. These researches have done probably all that is possible towards the application of the Capitoline fragments; but it must be confessed that, after all is done, the results that can be depended on with certainty are lamentably small.

Such then are the materials with which the inquirer into Roman topography must go to work, and upon his more or less judicious use of these his success and his reputation must mainly depend. The still extant remains of ancient monuments or edifices are of course the most important of all auxiliaries, wherever they are themselves such as not to stand in need of illustration from other sources: but few causes have more retarded the progress of our knowledge than names erroneously applied in the first instance to particular buildings, but which have obtained such firm hold by mere repetition, that it has required no little effort to eradicate the long-established error. I have already adverted to the zeal and activity which the

[19] M. Preller has attempted to contest to M. Becker the merit of this discovery, because M. Canina had already acted on the assumption of the same idea in his application of several of the fragments. This is undoubtedly true, but then M. Canina had also applied *other* fragments in the *opposite* direction: thus shewing that he had no clear idea upon the subject at all, and M. Becker's merit consists exactly in this, that he first pointed out the necessity of applying to all cases one uniform rule, and proved that as some of the fragments evidently required to be turned in the manner indicated, the whole must be so. What M. Urlichs means by his suggestion (*Römische Topographie in Leipzig*, p. 3), that it is doubtful whether the plan had any definite direction (*Orieetirung*) at all, I must confess myself at a loss to understand.

Italian antiquarians have long displayed in tracing out all the existing remains of the ancient city, and probably few gleanings still remain to be gathered in this field of inquiry, so far as these remnants of antiquity are visible above ground. But a new source of information has been opened out of late years, from which results of the greatest importance have been already derived, and to which we may look with confidence for still greater additions to our knowledge, in the system of regular excavations, carried on especially in the neighbourhood of the Roman forum. Slowly as these excavations have been conducted, they have already been productive of incalculable benefit, and it is impossible to look at the present state of our knowledge, in regard to the Roman forum and the surrounding localities, as compared with that possessed by the antiquaries of the last century, without feeling that the shovel of the excavator has done more than all the labours of the learned. A few gangs of active labourers, under judicious direction, would probably in a few months set at rest the greater part of the questions relating to this neighbourhood, that still divide the opinions of the latest writers.

It must not be supposed, however, that the process of clearing alone would be sufficient, or that the results thus obtained are always so self-evident as not to stand in need of much learning and considerable ingenuity to derive from them the fullest benefit. Hence it is peculiarly fortunate that the impulse was given to this mode of investigation simultaneously with the application of the increased resources of modern philology; and that the greater part of the discoveries thus made, have taken place under the eyes of those most competent to turn them to account. A single instance will suffice to shew the important advantages that may be drawn from the determination of any one point thus fixed with undoubted certainty. The name of the Temple of Concord had been applied, from the days of Poggio to those of Nardini, to the edifice of which eight granite columns are still standing on the slope beneath the Capitol; and though the last-mentioned writer threw some doubt upon the justice of the attribution, it was only to remove the temple still further from its true position. The common appellation, however, still kept its ground till the progress of the excavations beneath the Palazzo del Senatore brought to light the foundations of a temple, the existence of which had never been suspected, buried as it

was beneath enormous accumulations of rubbish, and which was proved, by the inscriptions found in it, to be unquestionably the true Temple of Concord [20]. Its position was found to agree perfectly with all the passages in ancient authors which spoke of that temple; and these being now rendered clear, it was easy to draw from them further inferences. Thus we know that the Temple of Juno Moneta rose immediately above that of Concord [21], and the former was situated in the *Arx;* hence we obtain a new and powerful argument in regard to the much disputed question of the relative positions of the Arx and the Capitolium, strictly so called. Again, beginning from this fixed point we are able to assign to the two adjoining ruins, with little doubt, their true appellations; those of the Temple of Saturn and that of Vespasian. Another fixed point, and one of still greater value, was obtained in 1835, by the discovery of the steps of the Basilica Julia, which determined beyond all dispute, not only the site of that important edifice, but the western limit of the Forum itself.

It is high time to turn from these general considerations to a more particular review of the principal points that may be looked on as established in the domain of Roman topography. My object being, as already stated, rather the guidance of the general scholar than the illustration of the local antiquities of Rome, it will be desirable to confine these remarks to those branches of the subject which are of the most general interest and importance: these may safely be assumed to be—1. The walls and other boundaries of the city, with the gates leading out of them; 2. The Capitol and Forum, with the districts immediately adjoining them; 3. The determination of those quarters or districts, such as the Carinæ, the Suburra, the Argiletum, &c., whose names are of frequent occurrence in the classical authors.

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[20] See Nibby's notes to Nardini, tom. II. p. 196.

[21] Ovid, *Fast.* I. v. 637.

Candida te niveo posuit lux proxima templo,
Qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus.
Nunc bene prospicies Latiam Concordia turbam,
Nunc te sacratæ restituere manus.

The peculiar force of the third line can only be fully felt when the relative positions of the Temple of Concord and the Forum are understood: the front of the former looked from a small elevation directly down the whole length of the Forum, before the Arch of Septimus Severus was interposed so as to intercept the view.

In no department of Roman topography have more signal advances been made than in that which relates to the several lines of walls that at different periods formed the limit and the defence of the city. The earlier writers, by confounding the ancient walls of the republic with those now existing, involved the whole subject in confusion; thus we find Biondo identifying the Porta Flumentana with the Flaminia (now called the Porta del Popolo), and the Porta Capena with the Porta Appia. Marliano and Lucio Fauno, indeed, saw the necessity of abandoning the first identification, in order to exclude the Campus Martius from the ancient city; but they retained the same confusion everywhere else. Even Nardini gave in some parts a very undue extension to the walls of Servius. But it is unnecessary to dwell on these long-exploded errors: the laborious work of Nibby (*Le Mura di Roma*, 4to. Roma, 1820), which was the first complete and detailed investigation of the subject, may be considered as having set them at rest for ever: and notwithstanding one enormous error (to which I shall have occasion to allude hereafter), placed the question in general in a clear and satisfactory light.

Without attempting to reconcile or discuss the conflicting testimonies of ancient writers concerning the order in which the separate hills were successively added to the infant city, or the sovereigns by whom the additions were made, two points may be considered as clearly established—first, that the Palatine alone was the seat of the original settlement, and became as it were the nucleus of the future capital; and secondly, that before the close of the regal period, all the seven hills were inclosed within the circuit of the walls, and that line of fortifications had already been drawn around them, which continued until the end of the republic to mark the limits of the ancient city. To Servius Tullius was generally attributed the completion of this circuit; and the walls of Rome, such as they existed in the days of Hannibal or of Marius, are commonly designated by the name of that monarch. Nor was it thought necessary, although the city had long outgrown these boundaries, and the walls themselves were with difficulty to be traced, to supply their place by an enlarged circuit, until the decline of the empire compelled its rulers once more to provide for the defence of the capital; and Aurelian commenced the construction of that line of walls which was afterwards repaired by

Honorius and Belisarius, and has continued with little alteration down to the present time.

Our attention may therefore be confined to three periods in the growth and progress of the city: first, the original Rome, the city of the Palatine hill; secondly, the city of the Seven hills, as bounded by the walls of Servius Tullius; and, thirdly, the Imperial city, comprised within the walls of Aurelian and Honorius. Of these several periods I must now proceed to speak.

1. The Pomœrium of Romulus.

All traditions agree, as has already been remarked, in representing the infant city, at its foundation by Romulus, as comprising the Palatine hill only. The Capitol, and according to some accounts the Quirinal also, as well as the low grounds of the Forum, are said to have been added to it before the death of its founder, but still this was a subsequent enlargement, no part of the original settlement. A well-known passage of Tacitus* has preserved to us a distinct record of the boundary of this earliest colony, the pomœrium of the city of Romulus. From whatever source he may have derived his information, his statement is so precise and positive as to leave no doubt of its accuracy; and we are fortunately able to follow the line thus marked out with tolerable certainty. But the moment we proceed to do so we are struck by one remarkable circumstance:—it follows not the brow of the hill, so as to take advantage of the steep or precipitous escarpment, but the foot of the slope, along the level of the valleys or low grounds which separated the Palatine from the neighbouring elevations. The same thing is expressly asserted by Gellius (xiii. 14), "Antiquissimum autem pomoerium, quod a Romulo institutum est, Palatini montis *radicibus* terminabatur." Yet such a mode of fortification, if we consider the line of the *walls* to have followed the same course as that of the pomœrium,—and the two seem in the earliest times to have been

* *Ann.* xii. 24. "Sed initium condendi et quod pomoerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. Igitur a foro Boario, ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur. Inde certis spatiis interjecti lapides, per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox ad Curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larum: forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a Tito Tatio additum."

too closely connected to admit of our separating them[22],—is so contrary to the practice which we find uniformly adopted in the other cities of Italy, as well as to the natural method of defence, that we are at a loss to account for so singular a deviation from established custom. Niebuhr has suggested, plausibly enough, that the original colony occupied the summit of the hill only, and that the line attributed to Romulus was in fact an extension of the city, for the purpose of taking in suburbs that had already arisen. This view is adopted by M. Bunsen, and there are certainly not wanting some indications of such a previous state of things. It is apparently to this *præ-Romulean* colony, that Dion Cassius (*Fragm. Vales.* III. 5) attributes the name of *Roma Quadrata*, a designation applied by other authors[23] to the city of Romulus. The shape of the Palatine hill renders the term natural enough, whether referred to a town that occupied the level plateau on the summit, or to one bounded by a line along the foot of the slope, as above indicated. But whatever truth there may be in Niebuhr's conjecture, it is certain that the line traced out by Tacitus is the oldest boundary of Rome of which we have any account: and it is interesting now, as it was in the times of the historian, to contrast the limits of the infant city with those to which it had expanded in the days of her greatness. Commencing at the Forum Boarium, the site of which is unequivocally marked by the arch erected there to Septimius Severus—it ran along the foot of the Palatine, having the valley afterwards occupied by the Circus Maximus on the right, as far as the altar of Consus, nearly opposite to the extremity of the Circus; thence it turned round the southern angle of the Palatine, where the Septizonium was afterwards erected, followed the foot of the hill nearly in a

[22] See the passages from Varro (*L. L.* v. 32), Gellius (XIII. 14), and Livy (I. 44), cited by M. Becker (*Handbuch*, p. 95). However this may be true of the earliest times, and the original signification of the term, it is clear that the necessary connection of the pomœrium with the walls was subsequently lost sight of. It is well known that the Aventine was not included within this sacred limit until the reign of the emperor Claudius, though it had been comprised within the walls for above six centuries. On the other hand, Augustus, Claudius, and Trajan, all extended the pomœrium without any corresponding alteration of the walls.—See the *Beschreibung*, I. p. 139.

[23] Dionys. II. 65; Plut. *Romul.* 9; Ennius ap. Festum, p. 258, ed. Müller. Festus, however, seems to understand the last passage, but surely erroneously, as referrring to the *sacred area* on the Palatine, which was called also Roma quadrata.—See on this subject Müller's Etrusker, tom. II. p. 143.

straight line to the Curiae Veteres, which stood apparently near the eastern angle of the Palatine, not far from the site of the Arch of Constantine; thence ascended the steep slope, at the summit of which stands the Arch of Titus[24], and descended again on the other side to the angle of the Forum, of which great part, if not the whole, was then a morass. Tacitus does not indicate its farther course, but it may reasonably be presumed that it still followed the line between the foot of the Palatine and the low marshy grounds of the Forum and Velabrum, until it rejoined the point from whence we set out.

The line that we have just traced is that followed by Nardini[25] and Nibby[26], and adopted also by M. Becker. It has the advantage of rendering the passage of Tacitus consistent with that of Gellius, who, in all probability, derived his information from the same source; as well as with the concurrent testimony of antiquity, which confines the city of Romulus to the Palatine hill. Niebuhr, on the contrary,—by reviving a long-exploded idea of Biondo Flavio, concerning the position of the Curiae Veteres,—has given an extension to the circuit traced out by Tacitus, wholly at variance with this view of the subject[27]. He has not hesitated to carry the pomœrium of

[24] The situation of the Sacellum Larum at this point, *in summa sacra via*, is sufficiently attested by Solinus, I. 23; and the Monumentum Ancyranum.

[25] *Roma Antica*, lib. I. cap. 2.

[26] *Mura di Roma*, p. 14 and foll.

[27] The situation of the building just alluded to was commonly considered to be fixed, approximately at least, not only by inference from the general course of the pomœrium, but by the mention of it in the *Notitia* among the edifices of the *tenth* region, which comprised as nearly as possible the same extent as the city of Romulus. We here find enumerated in succession: "Aedem Jovis (in all probability the Temple of Jupiter Stator, not far from the Arch of Titus), *Curiam veterem*, Fortunam respicientem, Septizonium Divi Severi." Hence it appears, that the Catalogue in this part follows the contrary order to that adopted by Tacitus; and the place assigned to the Curiæ would on this hypothesis accord very well with that previously supposed. The use of the singular number *Curia*, instead of the plural, is undoubtedly a slight grammatical error; but, as M. Becker justly observes, we have no right to expect rigid accuracy of grammar in a catalogue where we find such forms as *Rostras* III., Habet *radia* in capite, &c. M. Bunsen, however, refuses to admit the *Curia vetus* of the *Notitia* to be the same with the *Curiae veteres* of Tacitus, and understands under that name the *Curia Julia*, which he supposes to have been so designated after the new senate-house, near the Clivus Capitolinus, had come into general use. Such an hypothesis, besides being unsupported by any evidence that the Curia Julia *ever was* so termed, has the disadvantage of throwing into confusion the whole order of enumeration of the buildings in the tenth region, which on the contrary supposition is clear and intelligible enough.

Romulus across the valley which separates the Palatine from the hill of the Carinæ, so as to take in a large portion of the latter, because the ruins of the Thermæ of Titus, which stand upon it, bore, in the middle ages, or at least in the fifteenth century, the name of "Curia Vecchia." When we consider the absurd ignorance evinced by many of the names in common use at the same period—and we have no evidence that it can be traced farther back—as well as the fact that it was in any case, as applied to the ruins themselves[28], a gross misnomer, it cannot but seem strange that such an authority should be allowed to outweigh the reasons that have induced other topographers to place the Curiæ at the foot of the Palatine hill. Niebuhr himself appears to have had his misgivings, and in his note, as it stands in the *latest editions* of his history[29], justly remarks: "Doch zieht sich diese Linie fast unglaublich weit seitwärts." Notwithstanding this admission, M. Bunsen has adopted, without hesitation, the original suggestion.

The city thus constituted seems to have had originally three gates[30], the number prescribed by those mystic rules of the Etruscan religion which so clearly presided over the first foundation of Rome. Of two of these the situation is clearly indicated by the natural approaches of the hill, and is further confirmed by direct testimony. The Porta Mugonia or Mugionis, called also Porta vetus Palatii, stood at the point where the Palatine was most easily accessible, in consequence of its junction with the Velian ridge; the *clivus* by which it was approached probably following nearly the same course as the *salita* which at the present day turns off from the arch of Titus towards the church of Santa Bonaventura and the Villa Spada.

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[28] It is clearly *to the ruins themselves*, and not to the district or neighbourhood, that Biondo understood the term to be applied: "Ea namque in Carinarum parte, ubi nunc apud ecclesiam Sancti Petri ad Vincula fornices maximos inter ruinarum vastitatem contra amphitheatrum nunc Colosseum extare videmus, *Curia vetus fuit*, atque etiam hoc in tabellionum monumentis, et ab incolis appellatur." (*Instaur. Roma*, lib. II. § 32.) Again, a few lines farther on he adds: "In Carinis autem *praeter Curiae veteris ruinas*." The point is not unimportant, both as shewing the absurdity of the appellation, and the enormous extent to which the line of wall must be carried, if this authority be admitted at all.

[29] Tom. I. p. 302, not. 735, 4th edit.

[30] Plin. *H. N.* III. 5 (9). Urbem tres portas habentem Romulus reliquit, aut (ut plurimas tradentibus credamus) quatuor. The latter statement probably referred to the city as enlarged after the union with Titus Tatius and the Sabines.

The Porta Romanula may be placed, with reasonable certainty, near the western angle of the hill, between the churches of S. Teodoro and Santa Anastasia: it stood, according to the statement of Festus, at the foot of the ascent which led to the temple of Victory[31], thus confirming the idea that the walls ran along the foot of the hill, instead of crowning its summit. No mention occurs either of the name or position of the third gate, for the Porta Janualis, mentioned by Varro as among the gates within the city, appears to be identical with the celebrated Janus, or archway, more commonly known as the temple of Janus, which stood on the other side of the Forum, and could have no connection with the original city of Romulus[32].

2.—The Walls of Servius Tullius.

It was to Servius Tullius—the monarch to whom is ascribed the origin of so many of the Roman institutions—that the tradition generally prevalent in later times assigned also the completion of the city. The line of fortifications within which he had first comprised the seven hills of Rome, was considered to be the same as that which continued down to the latest period of the republic to mark the limits of the city, properly so called. Nor is there any thing either improbable or surprising in such a supposition. Experience seems to prove that where a line of walls is originally built with any degree of solidity, it is rarely deviated from, unless where a complete change has been rendered necessary. Thus the walls of London, as they existed in the reign of Elizabeth, still followed (with one exception only) the line originally traced out by the Romans, and in many portions of them the original Roman structure still remained. Much the same seems to have been the case with the walls of Servius Tullius: during the earlier ages of the republic they underwent numerous restorations and repairs—of which the most important was probably that which immediately followed the expulsion of the Gauls; but there is no reason to suppose that their course suffered any material change. Dionysius, indeed, expressly tells us that no additions had been made to

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[31] Infimo clivo Victoriae.—Festus, p. 262, ed. Müll.

[32] The whole subject of the gates of the Romulean city, and the numerous questions connected with their determination, is fully discussed by M. Becker, *De Romae veteris Muris atque Portis*, p. 21 and following.

their circuit from the reign of Servius, until the time at which he wrote[33]. Long before the latter period, however, not only had extensive suburbs grown up on all sides, but the walls themselves, which had long ceased to be required for purposes of defence, were so encumbered and concealed by other buildings, that their line could in many instances be traced with difficulty[34]. Even the sacred character of the pomœrium was insufficient to protect it from encroachments. Hence it might at first appear an almost hopeless task to discover at the present time those limits which were already become nearly undistinguishable in the reign of Augustus. And such would undoubtedly be the case were it not that the boundaries of the city were originally determined for the most part by the natural configuration of the ground on which it stood, and the obvious lines of defence resulting from thence.

For if we recur to the history of the early ages of Rome, and represent to ourselves the gradual increase of the city, such as it is delivered to us in substance, notwithstanding the differences of traditions, we shall find no difficulty in conceiving the form which the fortifications must have assumed in the first instance. The hills, which were successively taken in to the increasing city, were most of them of great natural strength; they constituted, in fact, as they are aptly termed by Virgil, so many separate citadels[35]. Presenting on all sides escarpments, either actually precipitous or easily rendered so by the simple expedient of cutting away the soft tufo rock, they required artificial defences at a few points only, where they would be

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[33] IV. 13: *οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευταῖος ηὔξησε τὸν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως . . . προσωτέρω δὲ οὐκ ἔτι προῆλθεν ἡ κατασκεύη τῆς πόλεως.*

[34] Id. ibid.: *εἰ δὲ τῷ τείχει τῷ δυσευρέτῳ μὲν ὄντι διὰ τὰς περιλαμβανούσας αὐτὸ πολλαχόθεν οἰκήσεις, ἴχνη δέ τινα φυλάττοντι κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκεύης βουληθείη μετρεῖν τὴν πόλιν.* See also Livy, I. 44, concerning the pomœrium "ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, *quae nunc vulgo etiam conjungunt.*"

[35] Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces. *Georg.* II. 535.

This was more especially the case with those hills, which all accounts agree in representing as among the first incorporated in the city; the Palatine, Capitol, Aventine, and Cœlian. If the statement which associates the *Quirinal* with the Capitol as among the first occupied be correct,—and there are many reasons for supposing it to be so,—it was probably only the extremity of that hill nearest the Capitol, not the broad expansion where it joins the Viminal, that we are to understand as so incorporated.

otherwise most easy of access. It only remained to connect these several fortresses by walls or trenches drawn across the narrow valleys which separated them. Such a barrier was evidently the Fossa Quiritium, the construction of which is attributed to Ancus Martius, though its precise position must be left undetermined. On one side only, as Dionysius justly remarks, was the city of the Seven hills open to the assaults of the enemy; and here accordingly we find it protected by the formidable rampart or Agger of Servius, which extended across the broad table-land formed by the junction of the Quirinal, Esquiline, and Viminal, and abutted at both extremities upon the precipitous escarpments of the two former hills.

Whether either the elder Tarquin or Servius Tullius actually carried out the project ascribed to them of surrounding the whole city with a wall of hewn stone, may perhaps be questionable, but there can be no doubt that it ultimately acquired such defences. Still, it is evident that, even at a much later period, it was upon the natural strength of most parts of the circuit that the Romans mainly relied[36]. And if we now attempt to trace the outline of these ancient fortifications, we shall find that the natural line of defence, resulting from the form and arrangement of the hills, is in all cases our safest guide. Even the position of the gates is in many instances clearly defined by the points at which alone they could afford access to the hills, or where they were calculated to lead directly into those valleys which became of necessity the principal thoroughfares. Where, on the contrary, these indications fail us, all is obscure and uncertain.

The still existing remains of the *Agger* leave no doubt as to that portion of the circuit; and the situation of the two gates

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[36] See Cicero *de Repub.* II. 6. Cujus (urbis) is est tractus ductusque muri, cum Romuli tum etiam reliquorum regum sapientia definitus ex omni parte arduis praeruptisque montibus, ut unus aditus qui esset inter Esquilinum Quirinalemque montem maximo aggere objecto fossa cingeretur vastissima, atque ut ita munita arx circumjectu arduo, et quasi circumciso saxo niteretur.—See also Dionysius, IX. 68.

Niebuhr has justly remarked (*Röm. Gesch.* I. p. 415), that the narrative of the escalade of the Capitol by the Gauls (as related by Livy) clearly implies that at that period there existed no walls along the edge of the escarpment: the Tarpeian rock was evidently thought secure enough, without artificial defences; and it was a natural result of the attempt of the Gauls on that occasion that the summit of the hill should *afterwards* be crowned with a wall, the remains of which are still visible.

at its extremities, the Porta Collina and Esquilina, is so clearly marked by the nature of the ground and the natural lines of communication, that these also may be considered as fully determined, and all topographers are agreed as to their position[37]. The existence of a third gate, the Porta Viminalis, nearly in the middle of the Agger, so as to correspond with the hill of the same name, is known to us by the express testimony of Strabo[38]; though, from the absence of all historical allusion to it, we may conclude that it was an entrance only of secondary importance. Some of the Italian topographers, especially Piale, have not hesitated to introduce several other gates in the line of the Agger, though it is evident that such a rampart was peculiarly ill-adapted for their occurrence, and the words of Strabo leave no reasonable doubt that in his time there were no more than the three already mentioned. From the angle near the Porta Collina the line of walls necessarily followed the escarpment of the Quirinal[39], as far as the point where that hill approached most nearly to the Capitoline[40], and must have been carried across the narrow valley that separated them, nearly about the middle of the space subsequently occupied by Trajan's forum. The construction of the latter, and the great works necessary to its preparation, especially the enormous

[37] The Esquiline gate must have stood almost exactly on the site of the Arch of Gallienus, which, in all probability, replaced it: the Colline at the point of junction of the Via Salaria and Via Nomentana, just about the northern angle of the Vigna dei Certosini.

[38] Lib. v. c. 3, § 7, p. 234.

[39] In this space a small remnant of the wall may still be seen, though much covered up with earth and rubbish, just beneath the Casino of the Vigna Barberini: it is built in an irregular manner, with large quadrangular masses of the ordinary Roman tufo. More considerable portions of it seem to have been extant as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they were demolished to make way for the foundations of the Palazzo Barberini.—See the *Memorie di Santi Bartoli*, ap. Fea, *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 229.

[40] Between these limits may be placed with certainty two other gates, the Porta Sanqualis and Salutaris, which respectively derived their names from the temples of Sancus and Salus, both of which we know to have stood upon the Quirinal. (See Becker's *Handb.* p. 131.) Their more precise situation can only be determined, if at all, by a minute examination of the ground. The Porta Fontinalis, erroneously transferred by Nibby to the opposite side of the city, and still more strangely identified by Sir W. Gell (*Topography of Rome*, vol. i. p. 132) with the Porta Capena, may be placed on the same line, or, perhaps with more probability, at the termination of the Quirinal. It led towards the Campus Martius.—See Bunsen, *Beschreib.* i. p. 626; Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 133.

extent to which the ground was cut away on the side of the Quirinal in order to obtain the requisite space, must have so much altered the appearance of the ground, that we can hardly attempt to fix with precision the position of any gates at this opening. Still the inference drawn by Nibby, Canina, and Becker, from the situation of the well-known tomb of Publicius Bibulus, that there was here a way leading directly to the Campus Martius, and that consequently there must have been a gate corresponding to it, nearly at the entrance of the modern Via di Marforio, appears undeniable. That the gate in question may have been the Porta Ratumena is at least a plausible conjecture, although as that gate is mentioned only in connection with the legend concerning the origin of its name[41], all grounds for a more certain determination are necessarily wanting. M. Bunsen alone refuses to admit the existence of a gate at this point, because he considers the sepulchre of Bibulus to have been *within* the city, and that this honorary distinction is adverted to in the inscription, which states that the place of his sepulture was assigned him by a public decree: an inference with which it is difficult to concur[42]. He consequently places the Porta Ratumena at the foot of the Quirinal, not of the Capitol, a position which appears at variance with the legend concerning it, and for which he does not assign any adequate reason.

It is agreed on all hands that there was no gate or way leading up to the Capitoline hill on its north-western face, where the principal modern approach is situated. The escarpment on this side must have been precipitous and unbroken from the supposed site of the Porta Ratumena to the Porta

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[41] Plin. *N. H.* VIII. 42 (65); Plut. *Popl.* 13; Fest. p. 274. All that can be fairly inferred from these passages is, that the gate in question stood *at or near* the foot of the Capitol, and that it was on the ordinary road to Veii. To the last point I shall have occasion to recur hereafter.

[42] The inscription is:—C . POBLICIO . L . F . BIBVLO . AED . PL . HONORIS . VIRTVTISQVE . CAVSSA . SENATVS . CONSVLTO . POPVLIQVE . IVSSV . LOCVS . MONVMENTO . QVO . IPSE . POSTEREIQVE . EIVS . INFERRENTVR . PVBLICE . DATVS . EST. It surely does not follow that the *lesser* honour of having a place of sepulture publicly assigned him would include the far *greater* one, that that place of burial should be within the walls. How great a distinction even the former was considered, we learn from Cicero, *Phil.* IX. 6. "Cur decernit honorem sepulturae, qui maximus haberi potest mortuo?—Majores quidem nostri statuas multis decreverunt, sepulcra paucis." — See Becker, *De Rom. vet. Muris*, p. 69.

walls. Explicit as these statements would appear to be, Niebuhr did not hesitate to affirm that the wall of the city ran in a line from the Tarpeian rock direct to the Aventine, between the Circus and the river, so that the Sublician bridge was quite out of the city. In the space thus left between the walls and the Tiber he conceives a suburb to have early arisen, which was no other than that designated by Livy as "extra portam Flumentanam." The proofs of these assertions he unfortunately reserved for some other occasion, and never produced them; but it is clear from an incidental observation in a subsequent part of his history[49] that one of the principal reasons which induced him to take this singular view was the same which has been put prominently forward by M. Bunsen, who has not only adopted the idea of his great master, but has coupled it with another and still more startling theory of his own.

We are told that, when the Fabii set out on their celebrated expedition to the Cremera, which terminated in the destruction of the whole clan, they issued from the city by the right Janus, or archway, of the Porta Carmentalis, which was in consequence ever afterwards reputed unlucky, so that all persons avoided passing through it[50]. This superstition, which was undoubtedly derived from a very remote period, gives an importance and historical value to the tradition, to which it could otherwise be little entitled. Now Niebuhr has remarked that, if the line of walls was such as generally received, they must, after quitting the city by the Porta Carmentalis, have re-entered it, *in order to cross the Sublician bridge;* and it is perfectly true that they must have done so, *if* they crossed the bridge; but it may be asked, what reason have we to suppose that they did so? It surely cannot be contended that, when the bridge was once constructed, it became of necessity the sole means of communication, not only with the Janiculum, which was the immediate object of its erection, but with the whole of Etruria, even many miles higher up the river. It is evident that the Tiber offered little obstacle to the communication of the cities on the two sides of it in very early times, long before the Sublician bridge was built. Thus there was clearly a free and constant intercourse between Fidenæ and Veii; and a similar line of communication would naturally have established itself

[49] See *Röm. Gesch.* I. p. 415; II. p. 222; III. p. 360, not. 525.

[50] Liv. II. 49; Ovid, *Fast.* II. 201.

between the latter city and Rome, notwithstanding their frequently hostile relations. It might naturally be presumed that this would have followed nearly the same line subsequently adopted by the Via Flaminia, crossing the river by a ferry somewhere near the site of the Milvian bridge, or perhaps higher up towards the mouth of the Cremera; and that this, or something like it, was the ordinary road to Veii, is evidently assumed in the legend concerning the Porta Ratumena. In the latter case, M. Bunsen himself has accepted the inference, and in the tabular list of the gates and roads issuing from them (*Beschr.* I. p. 670) has represented the "*Weg nach Veii*" as issuing from the Porta Ratumena. Still, it might be reasonably objected that, for so numerous a train as that of the Fabii, with all their baggage, &c., the convenience of passing over the bridge would be so great, as to cause them to make a considerable détour in order to avail themselves of it; but in this case, as is justly observed by M. Becker, we cannot account for their going out by the Porta Carmentalis at all; their direct way would have been through the Porta Flumentana (according to Niebuhr's view of its position) to the river, and thence across the bridge. But they *did* leave the city by the Porta Carmentalis, and *therefore* it is clear that they did *not* go over the Sublician bridge; or, which is the same thing in effect, it was thus that the authors who have preserved to us the legend in its present form must have conceived their march to have taken place.

The only other argument brought forward by M. Bunsen is, the small extent to which we read of inundations of the Tiber extending into the lower parts of the city, especially the Velabrum and Forum, from whence he infers that they must have been excluded by a wall. But it may well be questioned whether an embankment, with a facing of stone, such as we know to have been constructed along the bank of the river simultaneously with the great cloacæ, was not a more effectual safeguard against inundations than a city wall would have been, especially as that wall must have had, according to M. Bunsen's own plan, at least one gate in it, in the very part most exposed to inundations. It must be added, that the fact itself of this exemption from floods in early times is by no means so clear; M. Bunsen, indeed, affirms (*Beschr.* I. 629) that no mention occurs in Livy of an inundation in the interior of the city,

but only in the suburb, near the Porta Flumentana. But this assertion is certainly not borne out by the passages of Livy, which, being the only ones in which he speaks of the Porta Flumentana, must be those alluded to. In the year 561 he says (xxxv. 9), "Aquæ ingentes eo anno fuerunt et *Tiberis loca plana urbis inundavit.* Circa portam Flumentanam etiam collapsa quædam ruinis sunt: et porta Cælimontana fulmine icta est." Again the next year (xxxv. 21): "Tiberis infestiore quam priore impetu illatus urbi, duo pontes, *ædificia multa, maxime circa portam Flumentanam,* evertit." A much greater inundation is mentioned at a period considerably earlier by Orosius, who, in all probability, derived his account directly from Livy. In the consulship of Q. Lutatius Catulus and A. Manlius (U.C. 513), according to that author, "Tiberis insolitis auctus imbribus, et ultra opinionem vel diuturnitate vel magnitudine redundans, *omnia Romæ dificia in plano posita delevit.* Diversæ qualitates locorum, ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam et quæ segnior redundatio tenuit, madefacta dissolvit, et quæ cursus torrentis invenit, impulsa dejecit[51]." Had we a description of this flood by an eye-witness and a poet, there can be little doubt that it would have appeared not inferior to that of the year 732, immortalized by Horace.

The most important ground suggested by Niebuhr for the existence of the line of wall from the Capitol to the Aventine is the occurrence of an elevated ridge in that direction, traversing all the streets leading down to the Tiber nearly at right angles, and which he conceives to have been formed of the *débris* of the old walls. This ridge, which has been overlooked by all earlier topographers, and is certainly far from distinct, may be traced, according to M. Bunsen, in a line from the little church of S. Eligio dei Ferrari (near S. Giovanni Batista Decollato) towards the Aventine. But the ground in this part is so much altered from its original level, and has undergone so many modifications, that one may well be permitted to doubt whether the evidence of so obscure a fact be sufficient to outweigh the distinct testimonies of Dionysius and Livy already cited, as well as the intrinsic probability that the bank of the river would be chosen as the natural and obvious line of defence. The point is, however, one that well deserves a more attentive examination than it has yet received; the more so, as in the event of its

[51] Oros. iv. 11.

really marking the line of the ancient walls, the ridge in question would decide between the course assigned them by Niebuhr and that adopted by Bunsen. Another argument against the views of Niebuhr and Bunsen is justly derived, by Becker, from the passage of Ovid in which he speaks of the Forum Boarium as closely connected with the Circus on the one hand, and with the bridges on the other :—

> Pontibus et magno juncta est celeberrima Circo
> Area, quæ posito de bove nomen habet.—*Fast.* vi. 477.

Without incurring the reproach above hinted at, of construing too strictly the terms used by a poet, it is difficult to believe that Ovid would have thus defined the position of the Forum in question, had it been separated from the bridges not only by a considerable suburb, but by the intervening walls of the city.

Immediately connected with the question just examined is that of the position of the Sublician bridge. Almost all topographers from the time of Flavio Biondo downwards have received without question the common and traditional opinion that the remains of piles still visible in the Tiber at low water, between the Marmorata and the Ripa Grande are the ruins of this celebrated bridge; not indeed of the original structure, as the piles are composed of large masses of travertine, and can certainly not be older than the Imperial period, but of a stone bridge which had at some time or other replaced the more ancient one of wood. From a passage quoted by Nibby[52], it appears that the tradition (if such it may be termed) is as old as the year 1484, when the bridge, which had been broken as much as 500 years before, was reduced to its present state, all the blocks of travertine which were readily available being converted by Pope Sixtus IV. into cannon balls. Before this time, as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, it is frequently mentioned as "pons fractus," but like the modern Ponte Rotto, without any addition indicating its more ancient

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[52] *Roma Antica*, tom. I. p. 204. The passage taken from the contemporary diary of Stefano Infessura (ap. Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* III. p. 1178) is as follows :—"Insuper ai 23 di luglio furono mandati in campo per Papa Sisto venti carra di palle da bombarde di travertino attondate, le quali furono quattrocento in numero .... e le dette palle furono fabbricate a Marmorata, dove che fu finito di distruggere un ponte di travertino rotto, il quale si chiamava *il ponte di Orazio Cocles.*" See also the passages there cited from the Papal bulls of the eleventh century.

name. Hence it may well be doubted whether the popular notion, that in the fifteenth century associated the *broken bridge* with the name of Horatius Cocles, had any other foundation than one of those vulgar misconceptions of an ancient story, of which so many instances are familiar to the Roman antiquarian. Marliano, though he accedes to the common opinion, does so with hesitation; and mainly in consequence of the statement of Appian that C. Gracchus, flying from the Aventine, crossed the Tiber by the Sublician bridge, a passage which certainly proves nothing. Later writers have for the most part adopted the same view without question; and M. Bunsen on this point agrees with the followers of Nardini. If indeed it be admitted that the Sublician bridge was *without* the city, the main objection to the position assigned to it at once falls to the ground; but it certainly seems difficult to conceive why the first bridge should be constructed at a point so inconvenient for all purposes of communication. Nardini, Nibby, and others, very reasonably assuming that the bridge must have been *within* the walls, were led to extend the latter beyond their true line, on purpose to include the spot where they placed the bridge; and thus to fix the site of the Porta Trigemina between the south-western angle of the Aventine, and the Tiber. But the position of this gate is so clearly defined by the passages of ancient authors, that no question can arise as to its being situated close to the foot of the Clivus Publicius (the *salita* which now goes up to Santa Sabina) and to the Salinæ, at the north-western angle of the Aventine[53], thus excluding the whole line of quay now called the Marmorata, and with it the supposed remains of the Sublician bridge. It was apparently this circumstance that led M. Becker to inquire into the real foundation for the received notion, which he very justly discarded on examination as altogether insufficient.

To determine where the Sublician bridge was really situated is a very difficult question, and one which in the absence of more satisfactory proofs we must be content to leave undetermined. If however we are justified in assuming that it was within the walls, the space is not very wide within which alone we can place it; and M. Becker can hardly be wrong in assigning its place between the modern Ponte Rotto, and the Porta Tri-

[53] See Bunsen, *Beschreibung*, I. p. 634; Becker, *Handbuch*, p. 157.

gemina. There seems indeed little doubt that it was one of the bridges to which Ovid alludes in the passage above cited, as connected with the Forum Boarium. M. Preller, understanding M. Becker to place it exactly on the site of the Ponte Rotto, objects not without reason that the great strength of the stream at that precise point, which caused the repeated destruction of the modern bridge, renders it improbable that one should have been erected there in very early times. This argument is however much less cogent in regard to a wooden bridge than a stone one; and it may be added that the strength of the current at particular points must have been considerably modified by the changes effected on its banks higher up, especially by the formation of the island immediately above the point in question, which had certainly not assumed its present configuration at the time that the Sublician bridge was built. M. Becker has also pointed out that it was in fact repeatedly carried away; though on account of its sacred character, as well as of the great traffic across it, it was always restored. Whether in some of these restorations, the last-mentioned of which took place under Antoninus Pius, it entirely lost its original character, and was converted into a stone bridge, as has been generally supposed, is at least very doubtful; if it were not, we can hardly wonder that no vestiges of it should be still remaining[54].

To return from this digression. The position of the Porta Flumentana is necessarily dependent entirely upon the question already discussed of the course of the walls from the Porta Carmentalis. Niebuhr, followed by Bunsen and Urlichs, places it somewhere in the middle of his supposed line between the Capitol and Aventine, so that the suburb "extra portam Flumentanam," which is repeatedly mentioned, and appears to

[54] M. Becker considers the remains of piles below the Aventine to be those of the Æmilian bridge, which had been erroneously identified with the Sublician by the earlier topographers, including the pseudo-Victor. It would rather appear to me to result from the passages which he has collected, that the Æmilian bridge stood near to the Sublician, in which case it may have been one of those indicated by Ovid. It may be as well here to mention that the name of the Pons Palatinus, frequently given as the *ancient* appellation of the Ponte Rotto, is in fact a mere invention of the middle ages, which does not occur in any ancient author, nor even in the *Notitia*. It is wholly without authority that M. Platner (*Beschreibung*, III. p. 346) has referred to this bridge the statement of Livy (XL. 51), which M. Becker considers as relating to the Pons Aemilius.

have been one of the first that arose outside the walls, lay between it and the Tiber. All other topographers concur in placing it in the cross line from the Carmentalis to the river, and close to the bank of the latter, as its name would seem to imply. That a suburb should have early formed outside this part of the walls, extending towards the Campus Martius and the Flaminian Circus, would appear very natural.

We have thus already two gates in the short strip of wall extending from the Capitol to the Tiber; but besides these, all the later Italian writers—Nibby, Canina, and Piale—concur in placing within the same narrow limits a third, the Porta Triumphalis: a gate, however, which appears to have been of a peculiar character, and is never mentioned except as connected with certain solemn occasions. The first and most important passage concerning it is in Cicero's oration against Piso (c. 23). "Cum ego Cælimontana porta introisse dixissem, sponsione me, ni Esquilina introisset, homo promptissimus lacessivit; quasi vero id aut ego scire debuerim, ut vestrum quispiam audierit, aut ad rem pertineat, qua tu porta introieris; *modo ne triumphali, quæ porta Macedonicis semper proconsulibus ante te patuit.*" Again, it is mentioned both by Tacitus and Suetonius, that among the honours lavished on Augustus after his death, it was suggested that his funeral procession should pass through the Porta Triumphalis. Both these passages certainly point to the gate in question as one that was not an ordinary thoroughfare, but was reserved for particular occasions, especially those triumphal processions from which it derived its name. At the same time the term *porta*, as well as the general drift of the passage in Cicero, would seem to imply that it was really *a gate*, and not a mere triumphal arch, such as became so common in later times. No clue whatever to its situation is, however, given us by either of the above passages. On the other hand, M. Becker has inferred, from the description given by Josephus of the triumphal procession of Vespasian and Titus, that the Porta Triumphalis was near the entrance of the Flaminian Circus, through which the triumphal procession first moved before it entered the city itself, and was, therefore, not a real gate, but a mere archway. It seems, indeed, difficult to come to any other conclusion concerning the gate there mentioned; but, on the other hand, it is hard to believe that this can be the same as the Porta Triumphalis of Cicero. M.

Urlichs is of opinion that Josephus, as a foreigner, had mistaken a triumphal arch through which the procession actually passed in the first instance, for the real Porta Triumphalis which must have stood at the entrance of the *pomœrium*. This is not altogether improbable, but it seems on the whole more likely that the change of the name had actually taken place in common usage, and that Josephus only repeated what he had heard. For although it be certain that it was Trajan who first extended the pomœrium so as to include the Flaminian Circus, and that there could be no true *porta*, in the strict acceptation of the term, which did not give entrance within the pomœrium, yet if a gateway or arch had been erected at any point without the city, where the triumphal procession actually began, it would be a very natural change to transfer to this the name originally applied to the real entrance of the city.

But where then was the Porta Triumphalis of earlier times, alluded to by Cicero? On this point M. Bunsen has put forth a suggestion totally new, but which will hardly meet with general assent. Assuming, as we have already seen, that the walls of the city ran from the Capitol to the Aventine, across the low grounds between the two hills, he has not allowed them to take the direct line from the one to the other, but has drawn them from the foot of the Capitol to the angle of the Circus Maximus, and from thence across to the Aventine. By this means he makes the west end of the Circus itself, adjoining the Carceres, coincide with the wall of the city, and affirms that the Porta Triumphalis was no other than the principal entrance into the Circus, through which, undoubtedly, the triumphal procession did pass. It is evident that the line of wall thus conceived is open to all the objections which have already been urged against that suggested by Niebuhr; it narrows still more than the latter the space allotted to the Velabrum and Forum Boarium, but it also involves us in another and a much graver difficulty; namely, that the Circus Maximus, which could hardly have served as an ordinary thoroughfare, is thus interposed as an absolute barrier between the Forum Boarium and the Aventine, and it becomes impossible to reach the Clivus Publicius, which was the principal approach to the latter hill—crowded and populous as we know it to have been—except by going out of the city into the suburb, and re-entering it by the Porta Trigemina. Such a state of things would appear incre-

dible, even if we had no more direct proofs against it; but the well-known passage in Livy (XXVII. 37), where he describes the solemn procession to the Temple of Juno on the Aventine, is directly at variance with such a supposition. This passage, which has justly been called by M. Bunsen himself (I. p. 628) a classical one for the topography of Rome, is so important that it may well be here inserted. "Confestim ad aliud sacrificium eidem Divae ab decemviris edicta dies, cujus ordo talis fuit. Ab aede Apollinis boves feminae albae duae *porta Carmentali in urbem ductae:* post eas duo signa cupressea Junonis Reginae portabantur: tum septem et viginti virgines," &c. After describing the order of the procession, he adds: "*A porta Jugario vico in forum venere:* in foro pompa constitit, et per manus reste data, virgines sonum vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt. *Inde vico Tusco Velabroque per Boarium forum in clivum Publicium* atque aedem Junonis Reginae perrectum." That a procession, the route of which is described with such minuteness, should have crossed the Circus Maximus, one of the places especially adapted for, and appropriated to, religious pomps and processions of all descriptions, without any mention being made of it, seems utterly incredible: yet, according to M. Bunsen's scheme, no other route was open to them. If, on the contrary, we adopt the line of walls as traced by Nibby and Becker, the whole passage of Livy becomes at once clear and intelligible.

The only positive authority which has induced M. Bunsen to adopt this very novel hypothesis is a passage of Varro (V. 153) concerning the Circus, which stands in the ordinary editions thus: "Carceres—Naevius oppidum appellat. Carceres dicti, quod coercentur equi . . . . . Quod a muri parte pinnis turribusque carceres olim fuerunt, scripsit poëta:" &c. Whether the inference drawn by M. Bunsen, from the obscure words "*a muri parte,*" could be borne out, even supposing them correct, it is needless to inquire; for they are clearly without authority. All the MSS. read *a muris partem*, and the received text was a mere conjectural emendation of this manifest corruption. Fulvius Ursinus and Salmasius had suggested the readings *a Murcis*, or *a Murciæ parte.* Müller conjectures *ad muri speciem*, which would agree with the general sense of the passage, though rather a harsh alteration. One thing only seems quite clear, that it is very dangerous to build any theory upon the

conjectural emendation of a passage so manifestly corrupt; still more an hypothesis which would require the most explicit and positive testimony to entitle it to our belief, in opposition to the strong arguments already adduced[55]. If we then find ourselves compelled to reject M. Bunsen's views in regard to the Porta Triumphalis, it must be confessed that we are quite at a loss where to place it: a circumstance that can hardly appear surprising, if we consider that the passages which mention it convey absolutely no information concerning its position, except that it led, more or less directly, to the Campus Martius[56].

The remaining questions connected with the walls of Servius may be more briefly dismissed. Their course around the escarpment of the Aventine can admit of no question; and it seems almost certain that there must have been a gate at the southern angle of that hill, because it was one of the very few points at which it was accessible. To this gate Nibby assigns the name of Navalis, in which he is followed by M. Bunsen: M. Becker, on the contrary, rejects this name, because it arose from the mistaken idea that the Navalia were situated on the left bank of the Tiber, just below the Aventine, where we know the Emporium to have been. It seems to have been in great measure taken for granted, that the Navalia—the docks, or rather sheds, in which the ships of war were kept—would be situated at the same place, which was the principal wharf for merchant vessels: perhaps, also, it was inferred, naturally enough, that they must have been below the bridges. But M. Becker has satisfactorily shewn that *all* the passages of ancient authors, in which mention occurs of the Navalia, point to their situation in the Campus Martius opposite to the Prata Quinctia,

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[55] I must confess myself unable to see the force of the argument derived by M. Bunsen (*Beschr.* I. p. 629) from the other passage of Varro (v. 146), which he cites, concerning the Forum Piscarium. The words "secundum Tiberim ad moerum" would seem equally intelligible on the common view of the case: but here again the words *ad moerum*—the very words on which the inference rests—are a mere arbitrary emendation. (See Müller's note on the passage.) Nor can I attach much weight to the suggestion that the "Duodecim Portae" were no other than the entrances leading to the *carceres* of the Circus: such a conjecture would be plausible enough, if the fact that the extremity of the Circus formed part of the city wall was *first established*: but one such questionable inference can derive little support from another of the same kind.

[56] This much may safely be inferred from the passages above recited, in which it was proposed that the funeral of Augustus should pass through this gate.

which we know to have formed part of the Vatican district, and were probably the low meadows adjoining the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Nor does it appear that there are any grounds for supposing, as M. Preller has done, that there were *two* such establishments—the one in the Campus Martius, the other beneath the Aventine—except a questionable fragment of the Capitoline plan[57]. We must be content, therefore, to leave the Porta Navalis among those gates of which the position is wholly undetermined. M. Becker suggests for that on the Aventine the name of Porta Minucia, but this also is extremely uncertain.

Considerable difficulty exists with regard to the course of the walls from the Aventine to the Porta Capena; the question arising whether the hill now marked by the monasteries of Santa Saba and Santa Balbina, which is separated from the true Aventine by a strongly-marked valley, but for which no name occurs in ancient writers, was comprised within the city or not. On the one hand, it is certain that the same reason alleged by Strabo (v. 3, § 7) as having compelled Ancus Martius to add the Aventine and Cælian to the city—the impossibility of leaving such strong positions open to the enemy for purposes of attack—would apply with almost equal force to the hill in question. On the other hand, it is certainly strange that we have no account of so considerable a hill being included within the walls, nor of any buildings erected on it. M. Bunsen has taken a middle course, and supposed a part of it only to have been taken in, so as to comprise Santa Balbina, but exclude Santa Saba. It certainly seems more probable that either the whole or no part of the hill in question belonged to the city; though it must be admitted that the external escarpment of it is by no means very strongly marked. Perhaps in this case also a more careful examination of the ground and the natural boundaries of the hill might throw additional light on the subject; the more so, as, according to Sir W. Gell[58], there still exist, or lately existed, portions of the wall itself "under the church of Santa Balbina and on the right of the Porta Capena." Supposing this fact, which

[57] See the discussion of these points between MM. Becker and Urlichs. *Röm. Topogr. in Rom.* p. 19, ff.; *Röm. Topogr. in Leipz.* pp. 4, 5; and Becker's *Antwort*, p. 15. The fragment in question bears the inscription NAVALEMFER, which M. Preller would correct, NAVALEINFER (VM).

[58] *Topography of Rome*, vol. II. p. 405, where he speaks of it as "one of the best and least doubtful specimens of the walls of Servius Tullius."

appears to have been overlooked by M. Bunsen, to be correct, it would seem probable that the means must still remain of determining the question whether the site of that church was or was not comprised within the city of Servius.

Within this interval, between the angle of the Aventine and the Porta Capena, two gates may be placed with certainty—the Porta Naevia and the Porta Rauducsulana; this is clearly established by the mention of the *vici* bearing their respective names among those of the twelfth region which occur on the Basis Capitolina. That the Porta Lavernalis also must be assigned to the same part of the circuit seems a reasonable inference from the passage of Varro (*L. L.* v. 34), in which it is enumerated immediately after the two just mentioned. The exact position of these gates of course cannot be definitely fixed, in consequence of our uncertainty concerning the line of the walls themselves; but supposing the latter to have comprised the hill of Santa Balbina, there must necessarily have been a gate at the entrance of the valley between that hill and the Aventine; and we may conjecture this to have been the Porta Naevia, as being apparently the most important and most frequented of the three[59].

We now come to one of those gates, the position of which may be considered as fixed with absolute certainty. This is the celebrated Porta Capena, from whence issued the "Queen of Ways," the far-famed Via Appia. It stood at the foot of the Cælian, immediately below the south-western angle of that hill, now occupied by the grounds of the Villa Mattei; its exact site being determined by measurement from the first milestone on the Appian Way, which was fortunately discovered *in situ*[60],

[59] It may be as well to mention here an error of Niebuhr, in regard to the Porta Naevia, which he places "under the bastion of S. Gallo" (*Röm. Gesch.* II. not. 462): thus extending the walls of Servius in this part as far as those of Aurelian,—an idea wholly untenable. Are we to suppose that he has mistaken the modern names, and meant the bastion of Paul III., which is situated on the angle of the Aventine? As this was the same Pope who ordered the construction of that commonly known by the name of its architect, San Gallo, the confusion may have easily occurred.

[60] It is scarcely necessary to observe that, though the celebrated Milliarium under the Capitol was the central point from which all the roads radiated, they were not measured from thence, but from the gates by which they severally issued from the city; but the milestones along them were not changed after the general enlargement of the walls under Aurelian.

Juvenal's expression of "madida Capena," and Martial's more explicit allusion (III. 47),

Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta,

are explained by the statement of Frontinus, that here was the termination of one branch of the Marcian aqueduct[61].

The course of the walls from this point to the Porta Esquilina is not to be determined with certainty; but, on the whole, the view taken by Nibby, and adopted by Bunsen and Becker, appears probable enough—that they followed the slope of the Cælian hill, excluding the narrow ridge connected with it, commonly known as the Caeliolus, as well as the low grounds on which stand the palace and church of the Lateran. The Porta Caelimontana—the most important outlet of the city on this side—may, on this supposition, be placed with little doubt near the Hospital of S. Giovanni Laterano, at the point of junction of the two modern streets which bear the name of Santo Stefano Rotondo, and the SS. Quattro Coronati. From hence the walls must have taken a northerly direction, to join the angle of the Esquiline, the escarpment of which they afterwards followed as far as the Porta Esquilina and the commencement of the Agger.

Having thus completed the circuit of the city, pointing out as we proceeded, all those gates of which the position can be ascertained, it may be necessary to advert to a passage concerning the number of the latter, which has caused much embarrassment to topographers. The number of those enumerated in our progress has been only sixteen, or seventeen, if we reckon the Porta Triumphalis as one; to these may be added the Querquetulana, which must have been situated on the eastern side of the city, perhaps between the Caelimontana and Esquilina; and two, or at the utmost three, may be supposed to have existed on the other side of the Tiber, in the Janiculum, and the walls which connected it with the river. We thus obtain twenty-one in all, a number which, as M. Becker has well observed, would appear amply sufficient, if we consider that the far more extensive circuit of the walls of Aurelian contained only fourteen. Yet we are startled by finding that a passage in Pliny, which affords the only express statement on the subject, reckons the

[61] *De Aquaeduct.* 19.

number of gates then existing at *thirty-seven*, and this, as he himself adds, without reckoning seven ancient ones which had fallen into disuse[62]. The only mode of explaining this singular discrepancy appears to be that suggested by M. Becker[63], that before the time of Pliny, the walls of Servius having long ceased to be regarded, an opening had been made through their line wherever it was convenient that a street should pass, and that every such opening was counted as a gate. The necessity of frequent communications between the central city and its suburbs, which were by that time almost as much incorporated with it as those that surround the city of London at the present day, would explain the occurrence of such openings in numbers that would be utterly incredible if understood of actual gates in a line of fortifications. Nor is it to be wondered at that no mention should occur in history of these minor openings, made only for the purpose of facilitating internal communication.

3. The Walls of Aurelian.

During a period of near eight centuries, from the reign of Servius Tullius to that of Aurelian, no change of importance had occurred in the walls of Rome. But we have already seen that the city itself had long outgrown the narrow limits originally prescribed to it, and the extent to which it had attained under the reign of Augustus may be deduced with tolerable certainty from the boundaries of the fourteen regions into which he divided it. That the latter related, not to the city as bounded by the walls, but to the whole extent of what could be then considered as Rome, is obvious not only from the buildings enumerated, but from the very names of the regions themselves. Some of these, indeed, those named from the Porta Capena, the Circus Flaminius, and the Via Lata, lay wholly without the walls. But we must not assume that the whole space thus

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[62] Plin. *H. N.* III. 5 (9). Ejusdem spatium mensura currente a milliario in capite Romani fori statuto ad singulas portas, quae sunt hodie numero triginta septem, ita ut Duodecim semel numerentur praetereanturque ex veteribus septem, quae esse desierunt..... The merit of explaining the obscure phrase concerning the Duodecim Portae, by shewing that such was the proper name of a particular gate, belongs to M. Piale. —See Bunsen, *Beschreibung*, I. p. 194.

[63] *De Rom. vet. Muris*, p. 109.

comprised was already thickly inhabited: we know that such was not the case with the Campus Martius; and the Collis Hortulorum or Pincian hill, as well as the broad level of the Esquiline beyond the line of the Agger, were, down to a much later period, occupied almost entirely by the gardens and villas of the great. This may serve in some degree to explain the circumstance that the city of Rome appears at no time to have greatly exceeded the limits which it had then attained. Notwithstanding the extension which must have followed the conflagration under Nero, in consequence of the widening the streets and thoroughfares, as well as the enormous extent of ground occupied by the palace and gardens of the emperor, we find the circumference of the city, under the reign of Vespasian, stated by Pliny from actual measurement, at little more than thirteen miles; an amount which would very slightly exceed that of the space comprised within the regions. From the same passage it appears that the Prætorian camp was then situated, as it remained in the days of Aurelian, on the extreme verge of the inhabited city[64].

The division thus instituted by Augustus, and the limits established in consequence, had relation only to municipal purposes; it is certain that neither the walls nor the pomœrium were extended so as to correspond with them. Augustus is, indeed, mentioned as among those who gave a greater extension to the latter, and the fact is confirmed by a *cippus* bearing his name, which was discovered on the Pincian hill, near the Trinità dei Monti: but it is clear from the inscriptions of similar *cippi* found at different spots in the modern city, that neither Claudius nor Trajan, both of whom extended the pomœrium, went

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[64] Plin. *H. N.* III. 5 (9). Moenia ejus collegere ambitu Imperatoribus Censoribusque Vespasianis anno conditae DCCCXXVII. pass. XIIIMCC. Complexa montes septem, ipsa dividitur in regiones quatuordecim, compita Larum CCXLV. After speaking of the distance from the *milliarium* to the several gates (see above, note 62), he adds:—"Ad extrema vero tectorum, cum castris Praetorianis," &c.

That the explanation of the above passage, proposed by M. Bunsen,—interpreting *moenia* as the buildings of the city generally, and not the *walls*,—is the only true one, can admit, I think, of no doubt. It is evidently of the city which was divided into fourteen regions, not of that marked by the ancient limits, that Pliny is speaking. Nibby, who understands *moenia* to refer to the walls of Servius, is driven to the common, but most unsatisfactory, resource of altering the numbers given by Pliny (*Mura di Roma*, p. 99).

so far as to include more than a small portion of the Campus Martius within its sacred limits. It is a well-known fact that the former emperor was the first to comprise the Aventine—so long an integral portion of the city—within the pomœrium : a *cippus* found near the Porta Latina apparently marks one of the limits to which the latter was at that time extended[65]. The last we hear of the pomœrium, is its extension by Aurelian, who probably made it correspond with the line of his new fortifications.

It may be considered as an admitted fact that the line of walls which surrounds the modern city of Rome is, with the exception of the part beyond the Tiber, essentially the same with that of which the construction was commenced by Aurelian before he set out on his expedition against Zenobia (A. D. 271), and terminated by his successor Probus. No one, I believe, has ever been found to dispute this fact, except the late Professor Nibby, who in his valuable work on the walls of Rome advanced the singular hypothesis, which he still maintained in his *Roma Antica* twenty years afterwards,—that the walls of Honorius (which are unquestionably the same we now see) were not a mere restoration of those of Aurelian, but that the latter had comprised a far more extensive circuit. They must indeed have done so, if we deem ourselves compelled with Nibby, to receive literally the startling assertion of Vopiscus, that Aurelian extended the walls of Rome to a circumference of nearly fifty miles[66]! Various modes of explaining this extraordinary statement have been suggested by different writers, of which perhaps the most plausible is that put forward by MM. Piale and Becker, that we must understand not *passuum* but *pedum* after the word *millia*, in the passage in question[67]. But whe-

[65] See, for the facts concerning the pomœrium, the *Beschreibung*, I. p. 139.

[66] Vopisc. *Aurelian*, c. 39 : "Muros urbis Romae sic ampliavit, ut quinquaginta prope millia murorum ejus ambitus teneant."

[67] The objection to this mode of solving the difficulty is, that fifty thousand feet would give only *ten* Roman miles for the circuit, which is *less* than the truth ; the actual walls, without the additions by the Popes, measuring between eleven and twelve. We may always rather expect such numbers to be overstated, than the contrary. It is remarkable that Olympiodorus (ap. Photium, *Bibliothec.* p. 63, a. ed. Bekk.) gives the circumference of the walls of Honorius (concerning which there can be no dispute), *as measured by the geometer Ammon*, just before the siege of the city by Alaric, at *twenty-one miles*,—little less than twice the true extent. Here, also, Nibby would alter the number to eleven, "onde vada d' accordo col fatto;" a very simple mode of solving all difficulties.

ther we are to explain away this assertion, or simply set it aside as an absurd exaggeration, one thing is certain—that it is impossible to receive it as a fact. It is scarcely worth while to enter upon an elaborate refutation of a view which, since the death of Nibby, there is probably no one disposed to maintain. The reader will find the arguments against this hypothesis fully and ably stated by M. Bunsen (*Beschreibung*, I. p. 646). They may be briefly summed up under the following heads:—1st, the incredible extent and magnitude of the work itself; 2ndly, the almost equal difficulty of supposing it, if once completed, to have been so entirely destroyed as to leave no traces of its existence; 3rdly, the absence of all indications of any buildings or public establishments situated in the enormous space thus comprised, beyond the limits of the actual city; and lastly, the decisive fact that the inscriptions recording the work of Honorius, two of which are still extant, expressly ascribe to him the *restoration* of an *old* line of walls and towers, not the construction of a new one[68]. Yet it was certainly not the wont of the latter Roman emperors to claim less than their due merit.

In thus identifying the line of walls constructed by Aurelian with that of Honorius, it is not intended to assert that any considerable part of those now existing can be assigned to so early a period as that of the former emperor: though it would be difficult on the other hand to prove that no part of them belongs to the original structure. But in addition to their renewal by Honorius, great part of the walls was actually rebuilt by Belisarius, and very extensive repairs were also carried on throughout the whole circuit by Pope Leo the Fourth, the same who first inclosed St. Peter's and the district of the Vatican with a line of fortifications[69].

Scarcely any allusion to the walls of Rome is to be found in history from the reign of Aurelian to that of Honorius, and their chief interest in the eyes of the scholar is derived from their

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[68] "Ob instauratos urbi aeternae muros portas ac turres egestis immensis ruderibus." See the inscription at full length in Nibby, *Mura di Roma*, p. 229. It is now to be read *in situ* only over one of the gates, the Porta S. Lorenzo. That over the Porta Maggiore has been recently removed in the progress of the operations to clear the noble archways of Claudius, but is still preserved. In the days of Poggio, the same inscription was still to be read over two other gates,—the Porta Ostiensis and Portuensis.

[69] See Nibby (*Mura di Roma*, p. 227, and foll.), who gives a detailed history of the walls of Rome, and the repairs and alterations they have undergone since the days of Honorius.

association with the great name of Belisarius, and his gallant struggle with Totila. To the narrative of those wars, as transmitted to us by Procopius, we are indebted for most of our information concerning their ancient condition: but there is also extant a minute description of them as they existed in the ninth century (prior to their renovation by Leo IV.) preserved to us by the *Anonymus of Einsiedlen*[70]. On recurring to either of these authorities we are struck with the little change that has since taken place. A portion of the wall at the angle of the Pincian hill, which has been forced from its position by the superincumbent weight, and is called in consequence the "Muro Torto," had already assumed the same aspect before the days of Belisarius[71]: the Porta Pinciana, which plays so important a part in the wars of that general, is now blocked up with masonry; and we learn from the *Anonymus* that it had been already so obstructed in the ninth century.

Of the fourteen gates which are assigned to the city by Procopius, the greater part are either still existing, or are known to have been destroyed at a comparatively late period, when they were superseded by those now in use. Such has been the case with the Porta Nomentana, and the Porta Portuensis, which gave way to their successors—the Porta Pia and Porta Portese,—as late as the sixteenth century. The original Porta Flaminia also did not occupy the exact site of the modern Porta del Popolo, but stood a little way above it on the slope of the Pincian hill.

The only questions, therefore, that can arise with regard to any of these gates, relate not to their situation, but to their original names; even these are for the most part known with certainty, but a difficulty has been suggested in regard to some of them to which it may be necessary briefly to advert.

It has been generally assumed that the two gates known in modern times as the Porta S. Lorenzo and the Porta Maggiore, are the same as were originally called respectively the Porta Tiburtina and Praenestina, and that the roads bearing the same appellations led from them directly to the important towns from which they derived their name. It is admitted on

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[70] It is given at full by Nibby (*Mura di Roma*, p. 262), and by M. Becker (*Handbuch*, p. 191, note).

[71] Procop. *B. G.* I. 23.

all hands that they appear under these names in the *Anonymus;* and a comparison of two passages of Procopius[72] would appear to lead us to the same result. On this supposition both these ancient ways must have issued originally from the Esquiline gate of the Servian walls. Now we know positively from Strabo that the Via Praenestina did so, as did also a third road, the Via Labicana, which led to the town of that name, and afterwards rejoined the Via Latina at the station called Ad Pictas[73]. Strabo, on the other hand, does not mention from what gate the road to Tibur issued in his time. Niebuhr has therefore followed Fabretti and Piale in assuming that the latter originally proceeded from the Porta Viminalis, which, as we have seen, stood in the middle of the Agger of Servius, and that it passed through the walls of Aurelian by means of a gate now blocked up, but still extant, just at the angle where those walls join on to the Castra Praetoria. It is remarkable that this gate, which is undefended by towers, but is of the same size as the other gates of Honorius, and would seem from the style of its construction certainly referable to the reign of that prince, is altogether unnoticed by the *Anonymus*, though he mentions the Porta Pinciana, notwithstanding its being already closed. Nor is there any passage in Procopius which is distinctly referable to it; that author, may, however have included it as one of the minor gates or πυλίδες, which he clearly distinguishes from the principal gates or πύλαι, and among which he on several occasions ranks the Porta Pinciana. Assuming this to have been the original Tiburtina, Niebuhr (followed by MM. Bunsen and Urlichs) considers the Porta S.

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[72] *B. G.* I. 19 and 96. In the former of these, he speaks of the part of the city attacked by the Goths as comprising *five* gates (πύλαι), and extending from the Flaminian to the Prænestine. That he did not reckon the Pinciana as one of these, seems probable from the care with which, in the second passage referred to, he distinguishes it as a πυλίς, or minor gate. Supposing the closed gate near the Prætorian camp to have been omitted for the same reason, we have just the five required, viz. Flaminia, Salaria, Nomentana, Tiburtina (Porta S. Lorenzo), and Praenestina (Maggiore).

[73] Strabo, v. 3, § 9, p. 237: ἔτα συμπίπτει (τῇ Λατίνῃ) καὶ ἡ Λαβικανή, ἀρχομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐσκυλίνης πύλης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Πραινεστίνη ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ἀφεῖσα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἐσκύλινον πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλείους τῶν ρ' καὶ κ' σταδίων..... τελευτᾷ δὲ πρὸς τὰς Πικτὰς καὶ τὴν Λατίνην. We must bear in mind that Strabo is here describing the Via Latina, not the gates of Rome, so that we cannot infer any thing from his omitting here to speak of the Via Tiburtina.

Lorenzo to have been the Praenestina, and the Porta Maggiore, to have been the Labicana; but that when the gate adjoining the Prætorian camp was blocked up, the road to Tivoli was transferred to the Porta S. Lorenzo, and that to Praeneste to the gate next in order, which thus acquired the name of Praenestina instead of its former one of Labicana[74]. To this suggestion there appear to be two principal objections brought forward by M. Becker, neither of which M. Urlichs has answered: the first, that, supposing the Via Tiburtina to have been so transferred, which taken alone might be probable enough, there is no apparent reason why the Via Praenestina should have been also shifted, instead of the two thenceforth issuing together from the same gate and diverging immediately afterwards; and secondly, that there is no authority for the existence of a *gate* called the Porta Labicana at all. The passage of Strabo already cited, concerning the *Via* Labicana, certainly seems to imply that that road in his time separated from the Praenestina immediately after leaving the Esquiline gate, but there is no improbability in the suggestion of M. Becker, that its course was altered at the time of the construction of the new walls, whether under Aurelian or Honorius, in order to avoid the unnecessary increase of the number of gates. Many such changes in the direction of the principal roads may have taken place at that time, of which we have no account, and on which it is impossible to speculate. Westphal in his *Römische Campagne* (p. 78) has adopted nearly the same view of the case, but he considers the Via Labicana to have originally had a gate assigned to it which was afterwards walled up, and the road carried out of the same gate with the Via Praenestina. The only real difficulty in the ordinary view of the subject, supported by M. Becker, appears to be, that if the Via Tiburtina always issued from the Porta S. Lorenzo, we have no road to assign to the now closed gate adjoining the Prætorian camp, nor yet to the Porta Viminalis of the Servian walls, a circumstance certainly remarkable, as it seems unlikely that such an opening should have been made in the Agger without absolute necessity. On the other hand, the absence of all mention of that gate prior to the time of Strabo would lead one to suspect that it was not one of the principal outlets of the city; and a

[74] *Beschreibung*, I. p. 657, and foll.

passage from Ovid, quoted by M. Becker, certainly affords some presumption that the road from Tibur in ancient times actually entered the city by the Porta Esquilina[75]. This is in fact the most important—perhaps the only important point of the question; for if the change in the names had already taken place as early as the time of Procopius, which Niebuhr himself seems disposed to acknowledge[76], it is hardly worth while to inquire whether the gates had borne the same appellations during the short interval from Honorius to Justinian. Some light may perhaps be thrown upon the subject by a careful examination of the different lines of roads issuing from the gates in question, though from the ground being now covered with gardens and vineyards, it is much to be feared that all traces of the ancient pavement have long since disappeared.

I shall not enter into the question with regard to the different names given by Procopius and the *Anonymus* to the gates on the other side of the Tiber; but as it is here that all traces of the ancient boundaries of the city have disappeared, it may be as well to mention that in addition to the Transtiberine region —the portion comprised by two lines of wall running down from the heights of the Janiculus to the Tiber—the Mausoleum of Hadrian had already been converted into a fortress for the defence of the Ælian bridge, and a gate appears to have existed in the short line of wall which connected it with the river. It was here that the soldiers of Belisarius repulsed the assault of the Goths by hurling down on their heads the statues with which Hadrian had adorned his sepulchre.

E. H. Bunbury.

(*Will be completed in No. XI.*)

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[75] In relating the legend of the flute-players who were transported while asleep *from Tibur to Rome*, he says:

"Jamque *per Esquilias* Romanam intraverat urbem
Et mane in medio plaustra fuere foro."—*Fast.* v. 684.

M. Urlichs disputes the force of this passage, "because," he says, "a man does not always follow the shortest road: so these waggons may have been brought into Rome by an unusual entrance." They certainly *might*, but how should Ovid know that they did so?

[76] *Beschreibung*, I. p. 659. This admission, however, seems quite inconsistent with the passage cited by him from Anastasius, which, if it proves any thing, must prove that the Via Praenestina still issued from the Porta S. Lorenzo as late as the period when the Porta Maggiore had already acquired its mediæval appellation of *Porta Sessoriana*.

APPENDIX.

On the Regionarii.

Of the three little works usually known by the title of the *Regionarii*, the first published was that bearing the name of Publius Victor. Of this the first edition appeared at Venice about 1471 (it bears no date), under the auspices of the well-known scholar and antiquarian Janus Parrhasius. It was again published at Venice, in 1505, by Pietro Marino Aleandro, and in 1518, by Aldus, after which it was frequently reprinted, and inserted in various collections relating to Roman antiquities. In 1558, an *enlarged* edition of the same, with above a hundred additions or interpolations, was given to the world by the celebrated Onofrio Panvinio, as an appendix to the first book of his *Commentaria Reipublicæ Romanæ*. It is this enlarged catalogue (which Panvinio professes to have taken from an ancient MS.) that is reprinted by Grævius in his *Thesaurus* (tom. III. p. 37); but Panvinio also published, simultaneously with the last, a second catalogue, which now appeared for the first time, bearing the name of Sextus Rufus, and agreeing, in general plan and arrangement, as well as in a great majority of the details, with that of P. Victor, but differing from it in some points, and imperfect, some of the regions being wholly wanting, and others in a mutilated state. This, also, he states that he had printed from an ancient manuscript, furnished him by Antonio Agostino, to the lacunæ of which he naturally attributes the imperfection of the work.

The third catalogue, which has now assumed a far more important character than it was formerly supposed to possess, was first published by Froben, at Basle, in 1552, together with the *Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii*, which then appeared for the first time, and accompanied by a similar description of the city of Constantinople. It bears no name, but it is worthy of remark that it is called in the title-page, *Descriptio Urbis Romæ quæ sub titulo Pub. Victoris circumfertur*, though the slightest comparison with the list printed under that name would have shown that the present work was far more meagre and concise. The same catalogue was reprinted, together with the *Notitia*, in 1593, with an elaborate commentary by Pancirolo (afterwards inserted by Grævius in his *Thesaurus*), and again by Labbe, at Paris, in 1651. Muratori afterwards inserted in the fourth volume of his *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, a new edition of the same work, transcribed from a MS. in the Vatican, where it appears under the title, *Curiosum Urbis Romæ, cum breviariis suis*. This differs principally from the catalogues published by Pancirolo and Labbe, by the

omission of many names which occur in them, and which we are therefor ecompelled to regard as later interpolations, the MS. published by Muratori, and which is still preserved in the Vatican, being unquestionably the most ancient of all, and dating (according to M. Bunsen) as far back as the beginning of the eighth century. It is this meagre and barren catalogue, of the *authenticity* of which no reasonable doubt can be entertained, however it may have been disfigured and corrupted by the ignorance of copyists—which is considered by M. Sarti to have formed the groundwork of the two far more copious, and apparently more satisfactory lists of P. Victor and S. Rufus.

If we now examine the *Curiosum* itself in its earliest form, we find that it contains a simple enumeration of the most important public edifices and monuments at Rome, arranging them according to the division of the city into regions, and enumerating those of each subdivision with some approach at least to a topographical order of succession, apparently also with a view to mark clearly the limits of the particular region[77]; after which it subjoins to each region the number of *vici*, *ædes*, *vicomagistri*, *insulæ*, *domus*, &c., ending with giving the circumference of the region itself in feet. In regard to a few only of the most important monuments, such as the Colosseum, the Colossus near it, the column of Trajan, &c., does it give a few descriptive details, such as "Colossum altum pedes CII. S. Habet in capite VII. radia singula pedum XXII. S."—"Templum Traiani et Columnam cochlidem altam pedes CXXVII. S. Grados intus habet CLXXX. fenestras XLV." But in no instance does it add any historical or antiquarian remarks. A few edifices or relics are indeed mentioned which belong to the earliest periods of Roman history, but they are uniformly such as we know from other sources to have been preserved down to a late period; such as the Casa Romuli or the Tigillum Sororium.

It thus appears that this catalogue, though far from presenting to the topographer all that he might desire, has a definite scope and purpose, which it apparently fulfils, and from which it does not deviate. If, on the contrary, we turn to the supposed catalogues of P. Victor or Sextus Rufus, which present at the first glance a general similarity of arrangement, we are struck with the fact, that while they contain all that is found in the *Curiosum*, the other matter with which this is mingled is, for the most part, of a wholly different character, and that

[77] This much, I think, may safely be admitted, though we must be careful not to place too much reliance on the order in which the buildings are enumerated,—an error into which M. Becker has occasionally fallen, notwithstanding the instances which he has himself cited (*De R. v. Muris*, p. 12, not.) are sufficient to shew the necessity of caution.

character immediately betrays itself as an *antiquarian* one. Edifices that had disappeared centuries before the period at which these catalogues could possibly have been compiled, are found intermingled with the works of the later emperors; private houses of illustrious men, the sites of which were known from history, while the buildings themselves must have been long destroyed, such as those of Cicero and Catulus on the Palatine, where they must have been early swept away by the extension of the imperial palace; sacred spots or monuments, celebrated in the early history of Rome, but of which all trace had long before disappeared; names, of which the very signification was doubtful, or which can be proved to owe their origin only to the false reading of a manuscript, or to a misconception of some passage in an ancient author; all these are jumbled together without any order or method, while the mention of many of the monuments is followed by notes or remarks which clearly indicate the antiquarian rather than the topographical describer. A few instances will abundantly illustrate these observations. Thus we find in the fifth region, the Horti Pallantiani, Horti Mæcenatis, and *Regia Servii Tulli* enumerated in succession, as if they had existed side by side[78]. In the fourth region, the house of Cicero on the Carinæ is marked by the epithet 'avita,' to distinguish it from that possessed by the great orator on the Palatine. In the eighth region, we find "Basilica Paulli *cum Phrygiis columnis*" (an addition evidently taken from Pliny, XXXVI. 15: Nonne inter magnifica basilicam Paulli columnis Phrygiis mirabilem?) "Ficus ruminalis *in Comitio, ubi et Lupercal*," a gloss which could only have arisen from a complete confusion between the sacred fig-tree in the Comitium and that by the Lupercal[79]: "Apollo translatus ex Apollonia a Lucullo:" "Curia Calabra, ubi pontifex minor dies pronunciabat." (Macrob. *Sat.* I. 15.) In the fourth region: "Area Vulcani cum Vulcanali ubi lotos a Romulo sata; *in qua area sanguine per biduum pluit.*" (See Liv. XXXIX. 46.) A very striking instance occurs in the second region (Cœlimontium), where we find "Regia Tulli Hostilii, *templumque quod is in curiam redegit*, ordine a se aucto, id est, patribus minorum gentium." The interpolator has evidently inserted this piece of false learning from Livy (I. 30), overlooking the fact that the *curia* in question was no other than the Curia Hostilia, which was notoriously situated on the Roman Forum. Livy, indeed, mentions

[78] The *Curiosum*, on the contrary, gives the Horti Pallantiani only: the gardens of Mæcenas having probably been broken up after the death of Nero, by whom they had been converted into an appendage to the Golden House; at least, we hear no more of them after that time, while the gardens of Pallas are more than once mentioned by Frontinus (*De Aquæduct.* 19, 20).

[79] The interpolation in this case is the more manifest, because, in the tenth region, the compiler has followed the *Curiosum*, and inserted the Lupercal in its proper place.

that Tullus Hostilius took up his own abode on the Cœlian hill, but evidently thought it unnecessary to mark distinctly the locality of a building so well known as the Curia Hostilia. It is singular that Biondo fell into exactly the same mistake; while succeeding topographers, from Marliano to Nardini, who could not be ignorant of the position of the true Curia Hostilia, were induced, by the presumed authority of P. Victor, to suppose the existence of *two* buildings of that name, the one in the Forum, the other on the Cœlian hill. This strange error thus became part of the received creed of Roman topography; and to make the matter worse, the name was applied to the massive arches and substructions of travertine beneath the convent of S. Giovanni e Paolo; and these ruins—of a style of construction precisely similar to, and in all probability coeval with, the Colosseum—still bear in the common guide-books and plans of Rome the title of the Curia Hostilia!

It would be easy to multiply such instances of gross errors and misconceptions; still it might, perhaps, be contended that these are not more striking than we occasionally find in the grammarians and scholiasts of the later ages of Rome; and that, however they may affect the value of these catalogues as authorities, they are not sufficient to disprove their authenticity as ancient works. It is certainly conceivable that some grammarian or antiquary of the fifth or sixth century might have compiled them from the same original source as the *Curiosum* itself was derived, interlarding them with all such matter of historical or antiquarian interest as his own imperfect learning would supply; but the strongest evidence that one of them at least was not so compiled until after the middle ages, remains still to be mentioned. The *Curiosum*, though it gives at the end of each region the number of *vici* contained in it, does not enumerate them by name; and indeed, with one or two incidental exceptions, does not mention the name of a single *vicus*. The catalogues of P. Victor and Sex. Rufus, on the contrary, contain, in several of the regions, a long enumeration of *vici* by name; but these lists are very partial; in some of the regions they are exceedingly copious, in others very scanty, giving only a few names, and those mostly such as are well known from history, while it is worthy of remark, that wherever the names are numerous they are such as are altogether unknown to the ordinary scholar. The reason of this is instantly perceived if we turn to the monument commonly called the Basis Capitolina—the pedestal of a statue erected to the Emperor Trajan by the Vicomagistri of certain adjoining districts, the inscription of which contains the names of not less than sixty-six *vici*, almost all of them otherwise unknown. *All* these names, without a single exception, are found in the catalogue of P. Victor, under the regions to which they respectively belonged; hence the copiousness of

the catalogue in respect of these particular regions (viz. the first, tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth), and its comparative scantiness in the others, where this resource was wanting to the compilers. The same test cannot, indeed, be applied to the so-called Sextus Rufus, as four out of the five regions which occur on the pedestal are wanting in his list; in the first region he enumerates the *vici* precisely according to the Basis Capitolina; but in the others he gives far more copious lists than P. Victor; and it is one of the most difficult points connected with this question, to determine how far these lists are derived from any sources still extant, or whether they have not in some cases been filled up by sheer invention. The latter would certainly be a very arbitrary supposition, unless the proofs either of direct fraud, or of gross and palpable interpolation, in regard to all other parts of the catalogue, were such as to throw a just suspicion over the whole. It must be added, that while the *numbers* of *vici* given at the end of each region by P. Victor and Sex. Rufus, in general agree closely with those of the *Curiosum*, allowance being made for the natural errors of transcription, they differ from them *totally* in regard to the five regions which occur on the Basis, being in these cases evidently *altered* so as to coincide with the enumeration of that monument.

These considerations are, I think, sufficient to leave no doubt how little claim to our consideration is possessed by the two supposed works of Victor and Rufus, and little, if any, that they are compilations of a late date. At the same time it is not to be denied that many of the interpolations evince considerable learning, and it is possible that some, being derived from inscriptions now lost to us, would be of very material assistance, if we had any criterion by which to separate these few grains of wheat from the chaff by which they are surrounded. But this is wholly wanting. Much, however, still remains to be done towards elucidating the various questions connected with these obscure compilations, before we can pronounce with certainty by whom or at what time they were brought into their present form. And it is evident that this inquiry is in great measure one of facts, as to the existence and nature of the MSS. from which they professed to be published. M. Bunsen asserts unhesitatingly (*Beschr. d. St. Rom.* i. p. 174) that there is no MS. either of Victor or Rufus now in existence older than the fifteenth century. Martinelli indeed speaks of having seen very ancient MSS. ("antiquissimos MSS. vidimus absque authoris nomine."—*Roma Sacra*, p. 409), but as these bore no name, they were probably only the same as the *Curiosum*, perhaps in its enlarged or interpolated form. The MSS. of Panvinio from which he published the first edition of S. Rufus, and the enlarged one of P. Victor, seem to have disappeared. Hence it may be doubted whether there still remain sufficient materials for the decision of this question,

as a purely literary one. But a careful examination of these catalogues, pointing out as far as possible whence every individual statement was derived, and comparing them as often as necessary with the views of the earliest topographers upon the same points, would undoubtedly throw much light on the history of their origin, and would be a valuable contribution to Roman topography. We may perhaps look for such a commentary from Professor Urlichs in the forthcoming *Urkundenbuch.*

Meanwhile the following may be briefly stated as the results of what has been already pointed out. We have in all five *different* catalogues, viz.—1st, the original *Curiosum*, as found in the Vatican MS. published by Muratori; 2nd, the same enlarged, with additions and corrections (some of which are undoubtedly interpolations), as published by Pancirolo and Labbe; 3rd, the original edition of P. Victor, by Janus Parrhasius; 4th, the enlarged edition of the same by Panvinius; and lastly, the imperfect catalogue ascribed to S. Rufus. The additions to Victor contained in the later edition are *universally* rejected as interpolations, even by Nardini himself; the lists of the *vici* contained in the original edition of the same work have been shewn to be *undoubtedly* such; many of the names inserted both in that list and that of S. Rufus are not only erroneous, but can be proved to result from errors into which we know the *literati* of Italy in the fifteenth century to have fallen; and almost the whole of that which is *not* in the original *Curiosum*, has one common character, marking it at once both as distinct from what is derived from the latter work, and as itself proceeding from one common origin. The conclusion appears irresistible, that *all* this additional matter was interpolated at the same period and from the same source, as we can prove great part of it to have been; that is to say, that it was inserted by literary men of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Very probably these additions were made in the first instance without any intention of fraud, but merely as annotations to the MS. catalogues which appear to have been in circulation among scholars as early at least as the middle of the fifteenth century, and afterwards incorporated with the original text, and published as part of it either by the fraud or ignorance of the first editors.

It remains only to say a few words concerning the *names* under which these works have so long passed. M. Bunsen asserts (*Beschr. d. St. Rom.* I. p. 174) that we are indebted to Janus Parrhasius for the name of P. Victor, and to Panvinius for that of Sextus Rufus. Not having been able to see a copy of the first edition of Victor, I am ignorant how far this is correct as regards Parrhasius: but the second statement is clearly erroneous; for not only does Biondo (writing above a century before the publication of Panvinius) repeatedly cite *a catalogue* under the name of Sextus Rufus, but he expressly tells us how he first

came to ascribe it to that author. "Ea vero omnia templa, eas ædes videmus *in vetusta urbis Romæ descriptione, cujus autorem, librariorum incuria suppressum, nos in Cassinensis monasterii bibliotheca legimus fuisse Sextum Ruffum, consularem virum.*" (*Roma Instaurata*, lib. I. c. 18, p. 226, ed. Basil, 1559.)[80] Marliano also, whose work was published fourteen years before that of Panvinius, continually cites Sextus Rufus *by that name.* Hence it is clear that Panvinius had nothing to do with the *invention* of it, and it is not improbable that the MS. furnished him by Antonio Agostino, though by no means as ancient as supposed to be, actually bore the name of the author to whom he assigned it. With regard to Panvinio, indeed, I am very far from being disposed to regard him, with M. Bunsen, as having been guilty of a direct literary fraud in the matter. His whole conduct, on the contrary, appears to me to bear the stamp of the most perfect good faith. He gives us an account of the manuscript furnished him, which there is no reason to doubt, except as to the fact of its antiquity (*literis majusculis venerandæ vetustatis scriptus*), of which he may have been an incompetent judge[81]. He publishes it incomplete, and with occasional lacunæ in the regions that it contained, for which it is difficult to assign any reason, except that he printed the manuscript as it was given him. Again, with regard to the interpolations (for such they undoubtedly are) in his enlarged edition of P. Victor, the presumption appears to me irresistible that these were *not* inserted by Panvinius himself: for it is impossible to believe that, had this been the case, he would have published them simultaneously with the much more extensive catalogue, professedly his own work, which is contained in the first book of his Commentaries[82]. Had he been capable of imposition, it is clear he might have interpolated Victor to a much greater extent: or, on the other hand, by keeping back these supposed new facts, he might have

[80] This passage is not to be found in the Italian translation of Biondo by Lucio Fauno, published at Venice in 1543. The translator has, indeed, throughout the work, taken the liberty of omitting numerous passages of his original, without any hint to the reader. It is evidently to this statement of Biondo that Martinelli refers, when he says (*Roma Sacra*, p. 408): "Libello de Urbis regionibus falso adscriptum fuisse nomen P. Victoris scripsit Biondo, *Instaur. Rom.* lib. I. num. 226." (It occurs at page 226 of the edition by Froben, at Basle, 1559.) Martinelli's account of the *Regionaries*, though referred to with commendation by M. Preller, is highly unsatisfactory.

[81] It may be observed, that there are not wanting instances in which MSS. of the sixteenth century have been written in obvious and close imitation of the style of writing prevalent at a much earlier period.—See Müller, *Præfat. ad Varr. de L.L.* p. XII.

[82] It is to *this* catalogue, and not to that of P. Victor, that Panvinius refers in the expression cited by Martinelli (*Roma Sacra*, p. 408), and from him by M. Preller (*Jen. Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* p. 485), "sexcentis locis eum auxisse."

obtained more credit for the merit of his *own* catalogue. But he does neither one nor the other; he tells us that he has accidentally come into possession of two valuable ancient MSS. from which he has derived important assistance, and he publishes them to the world simultaneously with his own labours, "*ut per quos profecerim, omnes cognoscere possint.*" It is difficult to conceive any course of proceeding more calculated to inspire confidence: and for my own part I have no doubt that the fraud (if fraud there were in the matter at all) must be referred to a much earlier period than that of Panvinius.

The early citations of a catalogue ascribed to Sextus Rufus just alluded to, which appear to have been hitherto overlooked, are certainly not immaterial; those of Biondo especially, as being written at a time previous to the actual publication of any one of the three. It is obvious that it by no means follows that it was the same catalogue as that afterwards published by Panvinio; indeed the contrary may be inferred from a passage in which, after speaking of the well-known horses now on the Monte Cavallo, he adds: "Tiridatis eos regis Armeniorum fuisse, Sex. Ruffi descriptio innuit." (Lib. I. § 99, p. 240.) Now both in Sex. Rufus, as published by Panvinio, and in P. Victor, the horses of Tiridates are mentioned as "Equi *æneí* Tiridatis," an epithet which at once excludes all idea of identifying them with the marble horses in question; in the *Curiosum* alone they are called "Equi Tiridatis," and so probably Biondo read in his catalogue. Yet we must not hastily conclude that this was no other than the *Curiosum* itself, for in another place, where he is speaking of the Cælian hill, he says: "Et urbis descriptio quam Sexti Ruffi fuisse diximus credere, multa ponit publica in eo monte ædificia, Macellum magnum, Lupanaria Antrum Cyclopis, Cohortes quinque vigilum, Castra peregrina, Spoliarium et *Armamentarium.*" (Lib. I. § 77.) Of these the last-mentioned is *not* in the original *Curiosum*, as published by Muratori, but *is* in the edition of the same work by Pancirolo, as well as in both Victor and Rufus. Again, in another passage (lib. II. § 95) he cites from the same Sex. Rufus his enumeration of the aqueducts of Rome, and the list so given does not agree with any one of those which we find elsewhere, coinciding in some points with that appended to the *Notitia*, as published by Pancirolo and Labbe, in others agreeing with the list given by P. Victor[83].

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[83] It may not be useless to subjoin the enumeration here given, for the purpose of comparison. It is as follows:—

Trajana	Augusta	Damnata
Aniana	Appia	Virginea
Athica	Algentia	Tepula
Martia	Cuminia	Severiana
Clandia	Sabbatina	Antoniana
Cærulia	Aurelia	Alexandrina
Julia		

It will thus be seen that it adopts two of the most obvious interpolations in Vic-

Marliano's citations, though by no means so important as those of Biondo, ought certainly not to be neglected. In the first place, it is a remarkable circumstance, that while he continually refers to Sextus Rufus by that name, he does not once, so far as I have observed, quote the catalogue of P. Victor, though the latter had been then repeatedly published. In several places, also, he refers to Sextus Rufus for facts which are not found in the catalogue of that author as published by Panvinius, but *are* found in that bearing the name of Victor[84]. All these quotations are taken from the latter regions, which in Panvinius's manuscript were either wholly wanting or much mutilated; and in one instance it seems almost certain that the notice *was* in the original MS., and is lost only in consequence of an accidental *lacuna*. In Sextus Rufus, as published by Panvinio, we find in the eighth region the following words:—

Vicus Tuscus

..... Tusco

and then follows a considerable *lacuna*. Now it is curious that Marliano cites apparently the very words here wanting: "*Hanc Vertumni ædem in vico Tusco locatam fuisse scribit Sextus Rufus.*" (Lib. III. c. 14.) Hence he evidently found these words standing just as they do in P. Victor: "Ædes Vertumni in vico Tusco." Are we to suppose that Marliano possessed a perfect manuscript of the same catalogue as was afterwards published in a mutilated form by Panvinio? or did he refer to the work then published, and generally known under the name of P. Victor, altering only, for some unexplained reason, the name of the author? The former hypothesis seems to me decidedly the most probable, though it leaves us, it must be confessed, entirely at a loss to account for his silence concerning Publius Victor.

E. H. B.

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or's list, viz. the Algentia,—which it, however, substitutes for the Alsietina, of which name it is probably a mere corruption,—and the Sabbatina, in addition to the Ciminia; the two names, in fact, belonging to the same aqueduct. On the other hand, it omits the undoubtedly interpolated Septimiana, but leaves out also the Herculea and Aetina, as well as the Alsietina of the *Curiosum*.

[84] In addition to the passage mentioned in the text, I would point out lib. I. c. 3, concerning the Porta Carmentalis, and lib. v. c. 8, concerning the Temple of Bellona; in both of which cases he refers to S. Rufus for words which are now only to be found in P. Victor.

XXXIII.

ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK.

So much has been written, and well written, concerning Greek pronunciation, in regard to accent, quantity, rhythm, and the quality of the sounds, that it is probably impossible to produce any thing new. Yet the opposite opinions which still occasionally appear in highly respectable quarters, prove that the controversy is not exhausted; or else, that all which has been established is not yet familiar even to some of our best scholars. In illustration, a note may be adduced from the late Sir Daniel Sandford, and a very deliberately-written passage by Dr. R. G. Latham. The former says (p. 89 of his Translation of Thiersch's *Gr. Gram.*): "As to reading Greek by accent, which the author here recommends, I never heard it practised without a complete sacrifice of the proper emphasis; and consequently of the sense, as well as of the quantity. The Greek accent consisted in the mere *elevation* or *depression* of the tone, and therefore did not interfere with quantity. But our accent consists in the *stress* of the voice, and therefore [therefore!!] cannot be applied to a short syllable without altering its quantity."

The last words shew that Sir D. Sandford was accustomed to understand by a *short*, an unemphatic syllable; which is a fundamental misconception. It is a vulgar error to use the words long and short in regard to English syllables, where accented and unaccented should be said; as, to say that "pity" has the first syllable *long*. The true statement is, that the word is in quantity a Pyrrhic (˘˘), but in regard to accent a Trochee, *i. e.* accented on the first. Evidently Sir D. Sandford errs in imagining, that when we put a *stress* of the voice on the first syllable, we alter the *quantity*, *i. e.* the time.

No one can hear the modern Greeks speak, without observing that the musical elevation of voice on the accented syllables is greater with them than with us; yet they accompany that *elevation* with a *stress* equal to ours. On the other hand, a

careful study of our accent will, it is believed, shew, that although its *stress* chiefly catches the ear, it is ordinarily accompanied by *elevation;* though the amount of elevation is determined entirely by oratorical considerations. No essential difference, therefore, can be established between English accent and Greek accent, although the threefold state of acute, grave, and circumflex indicates a nicer vocabular discrimination than either the modern Greeks or the English admit. *Some* change in this respect has passed on the language, since there is no longer any difference heard between κῆρ and κήρ, φῶς and φώς. Since the English circumflex is purely oratorical, *we* undoubtedly cannot execute such a sound upon a vowel without seriously affecting the sense of a passage. So much may be admitted to Sir D. Sandford. But if with the modern Greeks we consent to merge the sound of the three accents in one, the difficulty which he complains of vanishes. In fact, he would appear to have confounded *vocabular* with *oratorical* accent. The former alone is written by the Greeks, every word in a sentence (except so far as the enclitics and the *grave* accent affect the question) being denoted precisely as in a dictionary or grammar. Elocution preserves this accentuation in the main, but modifies it so as to mould the parts of a sentence into a single whole.

Dr. Latham, in his learned work on the English language, prints the following passage twice over; pp. 130, 372: "The incompatibility of the classical metres with the English prosody lies in the fact, that the classic writer measures quantity by the length of the syllable taken altogether; while *the Englishman measures it by the length of the vowel alone.*"

If Dr. Latham means to say that English readers manage to hurry over consonants in less time than an Italian would approve, that may be conceded: but in that case we *count* the time shorter merely because it *really is* shorter: there is nothing arbitrary in our measurement. But the passage most strangely implies that our metres are determined by questions of quantity or time. On the contrary, nothing, one might think, could be more notorious, than that the mechanical part of English versification depends wholly on accent; though the melody and the expressiveness are exceedingly influenced by quantity. Pope certainly knew this, and exemplified it in his couplet:

"When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,
The line too labours, and the words move slow."

The pure *metre*, being accentual, would be the same if he had written,

"When Aíăs aíms ă rŏc'kў máss to thrów:"

But the *expression* of the short syllables would be widely different from that of the long ones. Dr. Latham surely cannot mean to tell us, that Pope "measured" *aks str* (in the words "Ajax strives") by the mere vowel *a* with which it begins.

What then is the difference between English and Greek, or between the ancient Greek and the modern? Plainly this, that the old poetry was made to be *sung*, but the modern to be *read*. Now, in singing to a tune, time is more important than accent; hence the old versification took cognizance only of time: but in reading, as in oratory, emphasis is far more influential, and time cannot be accurately measured; hence modern verses, Greek or English, are made with reference solely to accent. Such, we may say dogmatically, is the outline of the case: yet it is not to be dissembled that difficulties lie beneath; nor is it imagined that they will all be removed in the present paper. Nevertheless, it will be something to have pointed out distinctly wherein they consist, and how far our positive knowledge extends.

No obscurity whatever, it is believed, hangs over the enunciation of Attic *prose*, except, first, our uncertainty concerning the threefold accent; secondly, the oddity sometimes introduced by enclitics. As to the former point, we may conjecture that the grave accent differed from the acute (*i.e.* τιμὴ from τιμή, τὶς from τίς), just as the weaker from the stronger accent in *Detèrminátion*, *Ènginéer*, in which the stronger has also the greater elevation of voice. But no junction of the two into a circumflex, such as grammarians describe, can be executed, without deviating (in the judgment of an English ear) into the domain of *oratorical* accent. In regard to enclitics, a series of accented but unimportant syllables, as in εἰπέ μοί πώς τι, certainly sounds to us very ridiculous, but involves no physical difficulty.

Some able scholars of our country have imagined it impossible to pronounce such words as ἄνθρωπος, ἔπειτα,—proparoxytons long in the penultima. Mr. Blackie, in vol. I. of

his work, p. 364, and elsewhere, has expounded the true theory of the general subject, but has not turned his attention to this one point. In fact, so much confusion of thought is current concerning accent and quantity, that it is not useless to reiterate truisms. We say then, that we have in English, as in Greek, the most complete separation of accent and quantity in numerous words; that our spondees may be accented on either syllable; that so may our iambs; so may our trochees. Let the following parallels be considered:

1. Spondee, accented on first syllable: *μύθους, πέμπω, χοῖνιξ, óntrite, fĕmale, cómpact, úmpire, básement, E'gypt, &c.*

2. Spondee, accented on last syllable: *αὐτούς, αἰδώς, τιμήν, τιμῶ, compáct, contént, disdaín, outgó, outwént, foregó, upbráid, unbínd, &c.*

3. *Iambs accented on first syllable: φίλους, γράφω, fóllow, méadow, béllows, shádows, Híttite, &c.;* in which we must not allow the eye to mislead us, as if we sounded double the consonants which we write double.

4. *Iambs accented on second syllable: θεά, κενούς, bĕneáth bĕlóng, prĕténd, dĕtáin, &c.*

5. *Trochees accented on first syllable: οὖλος, μῶμος, míghty, plénty, &c. &c.*

6. *Trochees accented on second syllable: ἐλπίς, εὐνίς, tomtít, fulfíl, undóne, outrún.* (We have no words ending in an accented short *vowel*, as *εἰπέ, ποτέ*; but the Turks say, *Mirzá*, and it is easy to us to execute the sound.)

If this has been understood, it will be clear that to form a word like *ἄνθρωπος*, we have only to add a short syllable, *πος*, to the sound of *ἄνθρω*; and there is nothing in this annexation which *forces* us to shorten the *ω*. In fact, if we pronounce the *ω* as *au, aw*, with the modern Greeks, we cannot help lengthening it. No Englishman will experience *difficulty* in sounding "ánthrawpos," but, from mere impatience, he wishes to hurry it into "ánthrăpos," exactly as the Irish say *grándfĕther*, for *grándfāther*: which precisely expresses the corruption of long vowels into short which has taken place in modern Greek, now that they no longer school their pronunciation to the times of the lyre. Our *tendency*, no doubt, is to shorten a penultimate vowel so placed; but it is only a tendency, not a necessity, and is shared by the Greeks themselves with us.

Compare *κάλλιστε, βέλτιστε* with *índustry, grácelessnĕss,*

and *ἄνθρωπε* with *cóntrītely, oútpoūrĭng*, and it will be c that the Greek has nothing in the slightest degree peculi questionable. And with this, the subject of the *prose* acce tion may be here dropped.

But on approaching the question, how the Greeks pron their *poetry*, serious difficulties at once appear. If their consisted of musical elevation, it must have utterly vani even have been reversed, when words were sung to a tun the melody took cognizance of the accent; which, by c son of Strophes and Antistrophes in the unknown me by the ascertained laws of known metres, we are p assured was not the case. Nay, if their music had suc as *time* and *bars*, it had also a periodic stress marking —and clearly indeed it is said to have had an *ictus* which would equally interfere with the accent of w far as that accent consisted in a *stress*. Between th *προσωδία* would seem to have been wholly sacrificed so that *θέα* and *θεά* would be sounded alike. Is admitted?

It is certainly a startling concession, but one refuse. To bring the question to a practical tr decisive method seems to be, either to set Gree modern air, or to invent a tune to correspond to a metre. Tried in either way, the result will be fo that the true prose accent was utterly lost in sing

To apply the test alluded to, I first took a wel Moore's, which he has adapted to a strongly-m tune of the Tyrolese; and translated it into Gre the same music, having regard *solely* to quantity Moore's words and the translation; the m known to need being printed here.

1.

Merrily every bosom boundeth,
Merrily oh, merrily oh,
Where the song of Freedom sou
Merrily oh, merrily oh.
There the warrior's arms | Shed more
There the maiden's charms | Shine mor
Every joy the land surroundeth,
Merrily oh, merrily oh.

2.

Wearily every bosom pineth,
Wearily oh, wearily oh,
Where the chain of slavery twineth,
Wearily oh, wearily oh.
There the warrior's dart | Hath no fleetness
There the maiden's heart | Hath no sweetness.
Every flower of life declineth,
Wearily oh, wearily oh.

3.

Cheerily then from hill and valley,
Cheerily oh, cheerily oh,
Like your native fountains sally,
Cheerily oh, cheerily oh.
If a glorious death | Won by bravery
Sweeter be than death | Sigh'd in slavery,
Round the flag of Freedom rally,
Cheerily oh, cheerily oh.

1.

ἱλαρὰ πᾶν κέαρ πέπαλται,
ἱλαρογηθὲς, ἱλαρογηθὲς,
ἔνθ' ἐλευθέρῳ βοᾷται
στόματι παιὰν θρασυμενής.
ἀνδρὸς ὅπλ' ἐκεῖ | γοργὰ λάμπει·
χάρις ἐκεῖ κόρης | στίλβει ἁβρά.
καλὸν ἅπαν τέθηλε, χώρας
ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης περιχυθέν.

2.

σμυγερὰ πᾶν κέαρ τέτηκεν,
σμυγεροβριθὲς, σμυγεροβριθὲς,
ἔνθα δεσπότου πέπλεκται
ἄλυσις, οἴμοι, ἀπότροπος.
νωθρόν ἐστ' ἐκεῖ | παλτὸν ἀνδρὸς·
κῆρ ἐκεῖ κόρης | οὐ ποθεινόν.
κατὰ δὲ πᾶν ζοῆς ὄλωλεν
φθιμένον ἄνθος φθιμένον αἴ.

3.

κατ' ἄρ' ὄρους διὲκ φαράγγων,
ἀτρομόθυμοι, ἀτρομόθυμοι,
πάτριον ὡς ὕδωρ χαραδρῶν,
ἄθροοι ὁρμᾶθ', ἱλαροὶ ὦ.

θάνατος εἰ καλῇ | κτητὸς ἀλκῇ
δουλίων γόων | φίλτερον γοῦν,
ὑπὲρ ἐλευθέρας ἅπαντες
διαμάχεσθε πατρίδος οἴ.

But it may be said, the tune chosen is by far too marked, and too quick. Such tunes in the decline of the Greek drama, were objected to by the judicious, as leading to a sacrifice of the true pronunciation to the exigencies of the music. A grave and slow tune should be selected, without rapid transitions from high to low, or a very strong beat at the beginning of the bar, as best representing the melodies used by the primitive classics. In deference to this argument, let us take our air of "God save the Queen," which it is believed, is quite unobjectionable on any of these heads. The first verse runs thus:—

God save Victoria,
God save our noble Queen,
God save the Queen;
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the Queen!

This may be freely rendered to suit the music in regard to *time*:—

Χαίροις, Βικτωρία,
γενναία, παντελής,
θείᾳ βουλῇ!
δῆων ἄτρεστος οὖσ',
ἀρχαῖς παμμήκεσιν
σεμνῶς τιμωμένη,
δαρὸν θάλλοις!

Here it is manifest, that in singing we are forced to accent (i. e. *emphaticize*) the syllables as follows:—

Χαίροις, Βικτώρια,
γένναια, πάντελης,
θείᾳ βουλῇ!
δῆων ἀτρέστος οὖσ',
ἄρχαις παμμήκεσιν
σέμνως τιμώμενη
δάρον θαλλοῖς!

In other words, the stress at the beginning of the bar (or ictus metricus?) thoroughly overpowers and annihilates the prose accentual stress, except where they accidentally coincide. If I do not mistake, this is equivalent to saying, that by *scanning* our verses after the manner of schoolboys, we make the nearest approach which can be made without knowing the real tune, to the actual singing practised by the Greeks.

One more question suggests itself; ought not the Greeks, if they desired perfection in this matter, so to have constructed their poetry as to suit at once the times and the ictus of the melody, without losing the true accent of the words? or was this impossible? It clearly was impossible to retain the pure *προσῳδία, i. e.* the musical elevation; but it was only difficult, not impossible, to retain the ictus, as will immediately be shewn; but perhaps, since they could not retain in the accent that element which more peculiarly struck the Greek ear, they felt it not worth while to cramp their poetry for the sake of this partial gain. To test this also, I selected the Portuguese air, as giving a metre not unlike those which are familiar in Greek, and attempted to write verses which should agree syllable by syllable to the longer or shorter notes, at the same time leaving the prose accentual stress uninjured by the ictus of the music. The words which Moore has set to the melody are as follows:—

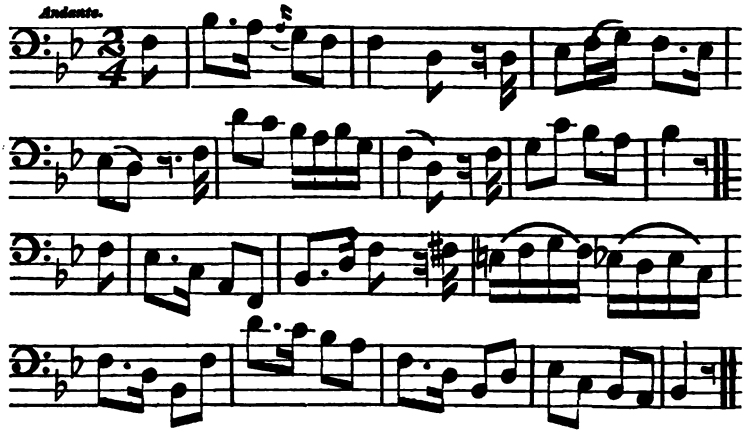
1.

Flow on thou shining river!
  But ere thou reach the sea,
Seek Ella's bow'r, and give her
  The wreaths I fling o'er thee.
And tell her thus, if she'll be mine,
  The current of our lives shall be
With joys along their course to shine,
  Like those sweet flow'rs on thee.

2.

But if, in wandering thither,
  Thou find'st she mocks my pray'r,
Then leave those wreaths to wither
  Upon the cold bank there.
And tell her thus, when youth is o'er,
  Her lone and loveless charms shall be
Thrown-by upon life's weedy shore,
  Like those sweet flow'rs from thee.

The English is by no means slavishly in accordance with the music, which, as I happen to have it, is set thus, for a bass voice.



The Greek has been adapted by me quite slavishly, except that by inadvertence I have made the first syllable of the 6th verse in the stanza long. As it is a mere *anacrusis*, this is very unimportant. Semiquavers are here taken as short syllables, quavers and every thing longer as long syllables.

1.

ὦ σπεῦδε, ῥέεθρον στίλβον·
πρὶν ὠκεανὸν δέ σ' ἥκειν,
κομίζοις θάλαμον ἐς Ἕλλης
πλοκὰς, ἃς ῥίπτω σοί.
εἰπεῖν δ', ὅτ' ἔσται γ' ἥδ' ἐμὴ,
αὐτίκα βίου ἀνὰ γλυκερὰς ῥοὰς
νευσεῖσθαι ὄλβον νῷν ἁβρὸν,
ὡς ἄνθη ταῦτ' ἐν σοί.

2.

ἀλλ' ἦν, νεόμενον κεῖσε,
ὁρᾷς σφε γελᾷν λιταῖς μου,
ἐπ' ὄχθης πρόβαλε τάδ' ἄνθη
μαραίνεσθαι ψυχρᾶς.
εἰπεῖν δ', ὅθ' ἥβη κέκλιται,
ὡς χάρις ἄφαρ ἄχαρις ἀπόλλυται
φυκώδη εἰς ἀκτὴν ζοῆς,
ὡς ἄνθη ταῦτ' ἐκ σοῦ.

The constraint thus put upon a versifier is, however, unendurable except in a short piece; for a full half of the words in the language is excluded by the laws of the metre. At the same time any composer would readily set the music differently so as to lessen the rather eccentric demands made by the tune in its present form. In short, the first three lines are all nearly reducible to the law of an Anacreontic, and the 5th, 6th, and 7th to a diameter Iamb, as regards mere time.

This consideration is suggestive. It is difficult to repress the belief that this simple tune would have been felt by Æschylus or Anacreon quite appropriate for their poetry. If however they had wished to write verse to it, they would neither have regarded the accent in so doing, nor have subjected the metre to the minor flourishes of the music. It can hardly be doubted that they would have produced lines more in the following style:—

1.

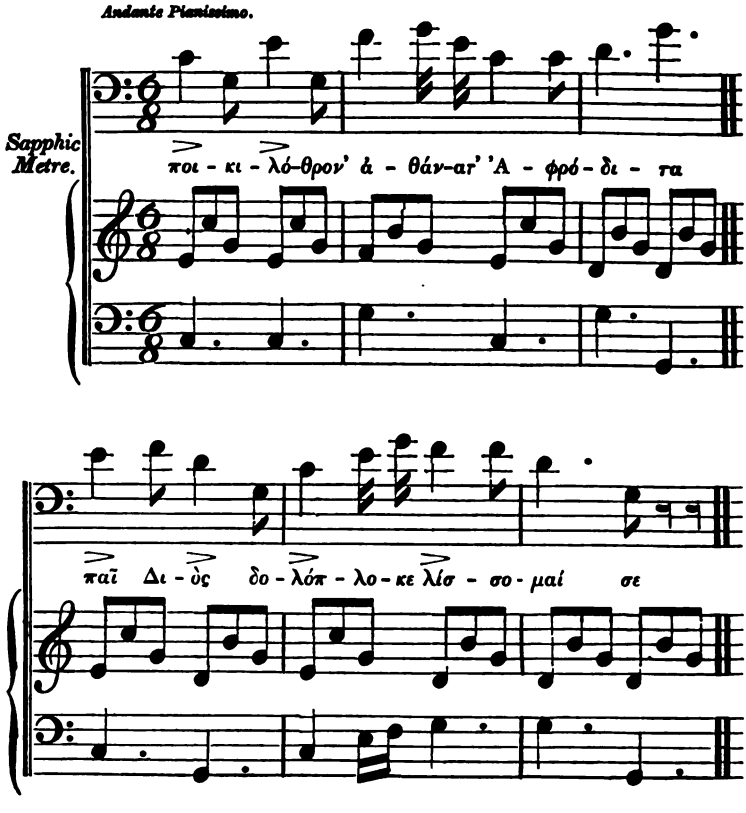
ὦ σπεῦδε, νᾶμα λαμπρόν·
πρὶν δ' εἰς θάλασσαν ἐλθεῖν,
πρόφαιν' ἐς ὄψιν Ἕλλης
ἃ σοι ῥίπτω στέφη.
κεῖπ' ὡς, ὅτ' ἔσται γ' ἠδ' ἐμὴ,
ἐκ τοῦδε νῶν βίου ῥοαῖς
χλωρὰς χαρὰς ἀπαυγάσειν,
τάδ' ὡς ἐν σοὶ στέφη.

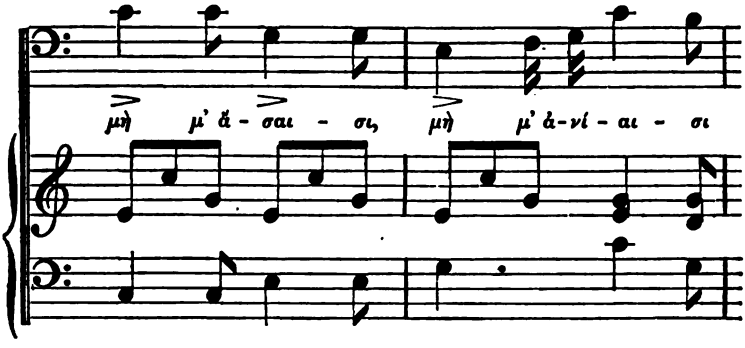
2.

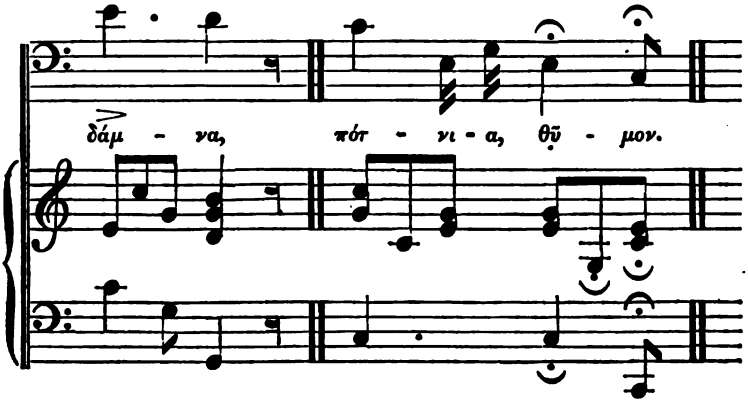
ἀλλ' ἦν, ἐκεῖσε κλύζον,
ὁρᾷς μάτην με δεῖσθαι,
ψυχρᾷ σὺ γῇ φθαρῆναι
πλοκὰς τάσδ' ἐμβάλοις.
κεῖπ' ὡς, ὅθ' ἥβη κέκλιται,
τὸ κάλλος ἀκλεὲς ὄλλυται
φυκώδη εἰς ὄχθην ζοῆς,
τάδ' ὡς ἐκ σοῦ στέφη.

The evidence here offered will impress different minds differently; but we are brought by this tune so naturally into metres quite familiar to the ancients, as apparently to shew that we are treading in their steps. Once more; trial shews that to sing the lines involves their scanning, and to scan them is a rude substitute for singing, while in any case the accent of the books vanishes from the ear.

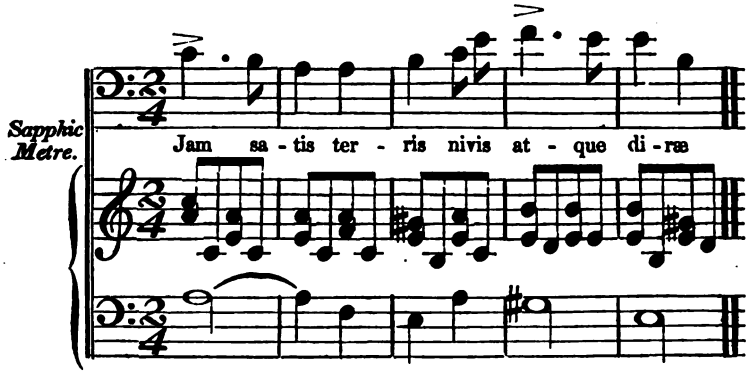
It would be tedious to pursue this subject from the other side; —*viz.* by devising tunes to correspond to known ancient verses, —were there not a certain intrinsic interest or amusement in the latter subject. At different times I have with more or less success invented melodies suitable to various metres myself, and I have also engaged friends better versed in the theory and practice of music to give me help in the same direction. The result is always the same as I have already denoted; as will appear from the following specimens of music intended to illustrate the genuine Greek Sapphic and the Horatian Sapphic. The former might be thrown, like the latter, into *two-four* time; but I leave it as I composed it. The latter is from a friend possessed of high musical taste, and the accompaniments to both are from a lady.

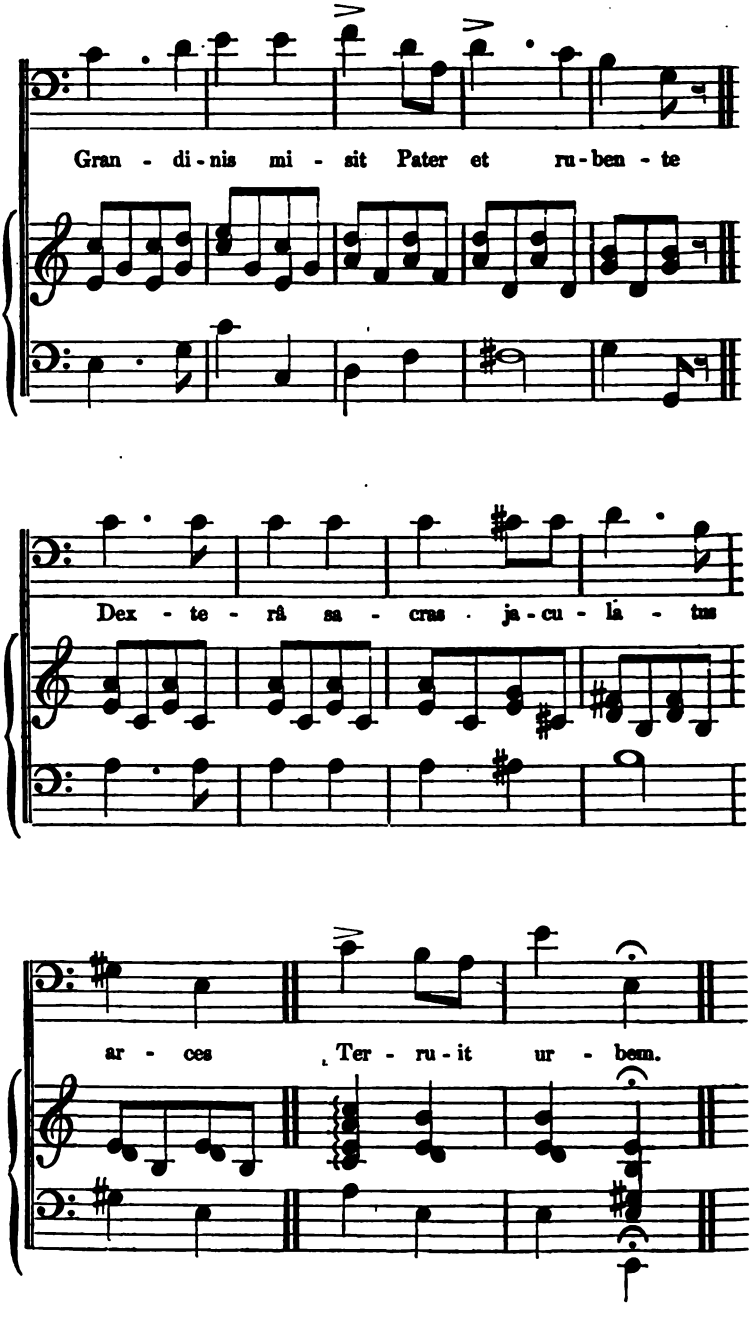






HORATIAN STANZA.




Gran - di - nis mi - sit Pater et ru - ben - te
Dex - te - râ sa - cras · ja - cu - la - tus
ar - ces Ter - ru - it ur - bem.

It is, indeed, contended by certain learned men, that when the Greeks wished to execute a trochee in the time of a spondee, or a dactyl in the time of a trochee, they did not effect it, as we do, by substituting for or again for ; but, leaving to the notes of each foot their due mutual proportion, they slackened or quickened them so that the entire foot should have the time required. On this subject Mr. Blackie gave very full details in an interesting and elaborate paper several years back[1]. But whatever the value of such nicety to the Greek ear, it does not seem to affect our general question. Let it be admitted that our music is not precisely identical with that of a Greek lyrist; it is still close enough to illustrate and test principles.

If all that has been *thus far* advanced be conceded, we have a paradoxical fact, *viz.* that the Greeks must have been contented to listen to melodious sounds very difficult to understand, since the confusion of ἢ ἤ, ἡ ἢ ᾗ, εἰ εἶ, and numerous others, would be peculiarly catching; but we have nothing obscure in the theory. In modern singing, also, the true pronunciation is constantly sacrificed to the music, and most peculiarly so in the slowest psalms or the most solemn chants. In the chants we hear twelve words rapidly run over (one may often say, *gabbled*), and the three or four last spun out to a prodigiously disproportionate length. Nothing which we are now imputing to the ancients can well have been more unnatural and remote from common speech than this. In the psalm tunes, we generally sing to duplicate time verses made by alternate accents, and often composed (as to quantity) of trochaic and iambic feet. The lines were made to be recited, without any idea of the tune to which they were to be sung, or even that they were to be sung at all: hence short syllables are frequently made very long, and that, syllables of most subordinate meaning. We are moreover accustomed to commence (accentual) iambic lines with an (accentual) trochee; this pleases us in recitation, but in singing it throws the ictus of the melody on an unaccented foot with a great breach of propriety. Yet it is endured, and no one cries out against it. All these enormities are combined

[1] Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. XXIII. pp. 241—294.

in the first lines of the well-known Evening Hymn, which, according to the tune appropriated to it, are thus pronounced :—

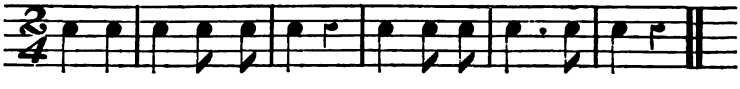
Glŏrȳ′ tō thēé, mȳ Gōd′, thīs nī′ght,
Fōr āll′ thē blĕssings ō′f thē līght: &c.

The only short note in the music is the first, and this is long in the poetry. Out of two lines we see so many as *seven* short unaccented and unimportant syllables turned into long ones, and two of them over and above receive a strong accent; viz. the *y* of *glory*, and *of* in the second line. *This* and *of* may, indeed, be called long by position. With such evidence of the extreme difficulty of reconciling the claims of music and of elocution, there is the highest presumption that the Greeks, as we, habitually sacrificed in singing the legitimate utterance.

But when we leave their lyrical poetry, and approach that which was recited without music—though no doubt with a certain chant, such as we name *recitative*—new difficulties arise. The characteristic phænomenon in all these metres, whether the heroic hexameter, the elegeiac, the iambic senarian, the trochaic tetrameter, or the anapæstics—is a peculiar *law of Cæsura*. Necessary cæsuras occur also in some of the lyrical verses, but are then for the most part readily explained by the musical *rest*; as in

Mæcenas, atavis | edite regibus.

No one[2] who has once admitted that the ancient music had *bars*, or equable divisions of time, will doubt that after *atavis* the voice paused for a time equivalent to a long syllable, so as to complete the bar, as follows :—



which removes nearly all difficulty. But this explanation, which holds equally good in the pentameter line, quite fails in the hexameter; and in all the others; in which, the time is complete without a rest, and the rest in fact is scarcely endurable. Another solution suggests itself out of the observed fact (see Zumpt's *Latin Gram.* p. 560, Schmitz's trans.), that several of

[2] On this whole subject Mr. Blackie's article may be consulted: as well as that in vol. I. of the *Classical Museum*.

the secondary rules to the hexameter seem intended to make the prose accent *at its close* agree with the ictus of the metre. What is called a cæsura does not necessarily imply a rest, but *in Latin* does, in certain cases, determine the accentuation. We can understand, that, as in the modern chant the last words are more distinctly heard than the beginning, so in the Latin hexameter peculiar care may have been bestowed to reconcile the ictus and the accent in the close, where also (as in the iambic senarian) the metre has least liberty. But it is very difficult to imagine why, in the earlier part of the verse, it should[3] *sometimes* be a positive offence, if the same reconciliation is effected; much less is it clear why words like *qui periturus* should not close an epic verse. To a mere tiro, who has learned only the mechanical rules, such a line as:

"Calchas nolens quemquam certæ opponere morti:"

appears to be more satisfactory than

"Nolebat quemquam Calchas opponere morti:"

Nor does it seem possible to silence his scruples, when it is remembered that lines so formed do not offend the tragedians, with whom the following are good for singing *to music:*

τοιαδε Καλχας συν μεγαλοις ἀγαθοις ἀπεκλαγξεν—
προς σε γενειαδος, ὦ φιλος, ὦ δοκιμωτατος Ἑλλαδι,
ἀντομαι ἀμφιπιτνουσα το σον γονυ καὶ χερα δειλαϊᾰ—

But here a fresh difficulty springs up. The Greek hexameter, in its more cultivated form, tended to receive the same laws of cæsura as the Latin, although in common with the pentameter, it had always more liberty in its mode of closing. Nevertheless the Attic accentuation is in so great contrast to that of Latin, and is commonly so different even in two lines which have the same cæsura, as to throw all these thoughts into confusion. For instance,

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεὰ, Πηλῆϊαδέω Ἀχιλῆος—
Εἰπὲ, σὺ Μοῦσα, πάθη, Λαερτιάδης ἃ πόνησε—

have both the same cæsuras, but no two accents alike: and yet each would have been equally approved. This appears to

[3] Yet not always. In the *feminine* cæsura the ictus and accent often coincide; as, *Spargens dulcia mella, soporiferumque papaver;* and nearly in *Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι.*

involve us in an inextricable net. To cut boldly through its meshes, a theory might be advanced;—1. That Homer used the Æolic accentuation, which nearly approached to that of Latin;—2. That the Sicilian accentuation of Theocritus was in substance the same, but that his learned editors, to make him more generally intelligible, have accommodated the accentual marks to the pronunciation current in the literary circles of Greece proper;—3. That to the Attics, as to the modern Greeks and ourselves, the Homeric versification was a system past and dead, although they could easily imitate it mechanically, and imagined that they understood its melody. Whether the second part of the theory is contrary to fact, others perhaps may be able to decide. Meanwhile, the same difficulty rises on us in a new form, and under circumstances which do not admit of a similar solution, when we approach the iambic senarian. The utterance of this ought to have been nearly the same as in common speech, if Horace rightly styled it,

—— populares
Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis—

Moreover, it was thoroughly native to the Athenians; yet not only is the ictus of the metre opposed to the accent, but its law of cæsura became increasingly uniform with cultivation, and stands in no relation whatever to the accent. We cannot imagine a rest, without a violation of the musical time; and although by the liberty of *rallentando* a rest be allowed, this does not explain why it should be enforced. In English poetry we have absolutely nothing analogous, nor is it obvious from what quarter we are to look for illustration[4]. One remark may be added, only because it is generally overlooked, that some of the anomalies deemed objectionable by critics, are to the English ear *justified by the Attic accent*, as,

Θρῄκην περάσαντες μόγις πολλῷ πόνῳ—
στρατὸς περᾶ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον—
Ξέρξης δ' ἀνώμωξεν, κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος—

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[4] A bold discussion of this very perplexing subject will be found in the Proceedings of the Philological Society for 1842-4, p. 128, from the pen of Dr. Latham. His remarks concerning the meaning of the Greek accent would perhaps be remodelled, after listening to the pronunciation of modern Greeks.

yet it is most probable that in all these the poet purposely threw a peculiarity into the metre to attain expression.

Lastly, when it is observed that the cæsura of the anapæstic diameter reverses all that is laid down in dactylic lines, although *to the eye* anapæsts may even become dactylic,—as in:

ἀσπιδοφέρμονα θίασον εὔοπλον
ἀντίπαλον κατὰ λαϊνὰ τείχεα.
ἦ δεινά τις Ἔρις θεὸς, ἃ τάδε
μήσατο πήματα γᾶς βασιλεῦσιν
Λαβδακίδαισιν πολυμόχθοις:

where nothing but the last line convinces us that we are dealing with anapæsts;—it seems to follow that no one can explain to us the meaning of the cæsura, who cannot *sing to us one or more recitatives suitable to the particular metre.* If modern musicians would condescend to conceive of any thing so simple, or, rather, so meagre, poor, and monotonous, as the music of Orpheus and the recitatives of Archilochus must have been, they, and they only, could enliven the rules of these dead metres. We want, for instance, for the hexameter, at least as many recitatives as there are cæsuras essentially differing; and it is to be presumed that the reciter followed one or other according to the cæsura of the line to be read.

Gathering up the conclusions from all that has been written, it is maintained that we shall most closely imitate the ancient Athenians, if, in reading their *prose* we utter their accent as our own,—if, in their *lyrical poetry,* we read by scansion,—and if, in their *epic and tragic poetry,* we adopt some uncertain mingling of the two methods. The last part of the subject alone appears to the writer to involve any obscurity at all. Without disrespect to a few able writers who doubt whether the acute accent, as uttered by the modern Greeks, substantially expresses the pronunciation of their ancestors, he cannot but believe that such a doubt arises from mere want of information, prejudice, or some other human infirmity. Our school method of pronouncing Greek is as untenable in argument, and as inconvenient in practice, as it is inexpressibly ludicrous to the ear of a cultivated native. Assuredly it is difficult for us now to alter it; nay, without combination, it is impossible; but our public schools might effect the change in half a generation, if the teachers were convinced of its importance; on which topic I

proceed to urge the following considerations turning on utility.

The present system inflicts on pupils a great additional effort, and entails a prodigious mass of blundering and confusion. They are allowed to see accents, which they are not allowed to utter. They become habituated to inobservance concerning those marks, insomuch that it is a perpetual difficulty to enforce the utterance even of the *spiritus asper*, which is a true constituent letter of words. It would be better to forbid accentuation in school-books, than, as now, practically to teach thoughtlessness and silence inquiry. When the time comes for "learning the accents," which ought to have gone on *pari passu* with the words of the language, pupils are subjected to the debasing process of *learning artificial rules for right pronunciation, without the least intention of ever pronouncing aright.* A mind thus tampered with, if it be active, resents the infliction, and cavils against the teacher; if it be inactive, rests satisfied in a dull, formal system, and imbibes a spirit opposed to all living and feeling research.

It will, perhaps, be said, that the accents *must* be learned, to avoid the confusion of like words. Granted! then they ought to be learned *from the very beginning*, and *by the ear*. The very first time a boy recites λόγος, λόγου, λόγῳ, λόγον, and θεὸς, θεοῦ, θεῷ, θεὸν, he should be required to pronounce the words with their own accent. If this were systematically done, no new difficulty would be added to the elements, and the after-learning of accents would be superseded. The only uncertainty remaining would be, when to mark with the circumflex; which is nearly always easy to decide by fixed rule.

Nor is there any weight in the oft-repeated assertion, that the quantities will be neglected if the accents are attended to. *The quantities are vilely neglected in our present pedantic pronunciation;* as when we assign the same sound to κᾶλος in Homer and κᾰλος of the Attics—to *cănо*, I sing, and *cānо*, hoary—to dūcis, thou leadest, and *dŭcis*, of a leader; and in a thousand other cases. In fact, *our received rules pay no attention to the quantity of vowels in any foot, except the penultima, and often not even there.* We must remodel our whole vowel-utterance, before we can make any approach either to the true Greek (or Latin) sounds, or to correct quantity. As regards the solitary danger of shortening a long penultima when the accent is on

the antepenultima, it is easily obviated in the case of ᾱ η ω and the diphthongs, by demanding their broad sound. Long ι and ῡ alone are peculiarly liable in this case to be merged into ῐ and ῠ. If no language had greater difficulties of pronunciation than this petty point entails, of which so much is made, we might, indeed, felicitate ourselves. We now make confusion by pronouncing wrongly, and then commit to memory tedious rules for *knowing* the fault, but not *correcting* it.

It must not be imagined that the writer desires to recommend the vowel sounds of the modern Greeks, by whom η ι υ ει οι υι are all merged in one, to the enormously increased trouble of teacher and learner, and in manifest opposition to the primitive utterance. Many well-informed writers have proposed modes of pronouncing, which are at any rate excellent approximations to truth, and practically convenient; and the only obscurity is that which hangs over the imperfect diphthongs. Without discussion, it may be allowed here to assign a system on the whole unexceptionable. Pronounce:

ᾰ as in English *măn*, or (better) as in French *ăvoir*.
ᾱ as in *fāther*.
ε as in *bĕd*, *bĕrry*—(never as ȳ in *plentȳ*).
η as in *thère*, *hāre*, *bèar*.
ῐ as in *sĭn*, or *y* in *plenty*.
ῑ as in *seen*, *machine*.
ο as in *dŏg*, or (better) as in French *sŏn*, *bŏn*.
ω as in *bawl*, *hāll* (not as in *bōne*).
ῠ and ῡ as short and long French *u*.
αι as in *hāte;* Latin and German *æ*.
ᾳ as in *aye;* broad Italian *ai?*
ει as in *bite;* German *ei*.
ῃ as *èy* (y being a consonant)?
οι as Latin and German *œ*, nearly French *eu*.
ῳ as *oy* in *boy?*
αυ as in *out*.
ᾱυ as broad Italian *au?* i. e. *âoo*.
ευ as in *dew*, *new*.
ηυ as *èw* (w being a consonant)?
ου as in *fōol*, *yōu;* occasionally as in *fŭll*, *bŏok*.
ωυ quite doubtful. As ō in *boat?*
υι as υ followed by the consonant *y*.

In the improper diphthongs, there seems no doubt that, *when*

a consonant followed, the latter vowel was dropped out of utterance by the later classics; so that ἵππῃς and ἵππης, Θρᾳκες and Θρακες, εφῃνε and εφηνε, θωυμα and θωμα, were sounded alike. But when a vowel followed, as in μυια, Θυιας, Δῃανειρα, the ι must surely, once at least, have been our consonant y; Thiersch, moreover, has remarked, that the version of Ἁρπυιαι into Harpyiæ shews that υ and ι retained their appropriate sounds, and that *comœdia, tragœdia* indicate the same of ω and ι in κωμῳδια, τραγῳδια. The nearest Latin sound to express *oy* in *boy* was their *œ*.

If a right accentuation and approximate vowel-sounds have been attained, the right pronunciation of consonants becomes of secondary importance. The point most neglected among ourselves—neglected even in the careful and able discussion of Mr. Blackie—is the pronunciation of *a consonant when reiterated.* We ought not on any account to utter καλος and καλλος alike; nor yet to make any difference in the vowels. The northern nations habitually omit to sound double consonants in a single word, yet we find no physical difficulty. Neither tongue nor ear ever confounds τῶν ναυτῶν with τῶν αὐτῶν, *her rise* with *her eyes, nice size* with *nice eyes;* and if we wish to sound Πελοποννησος, καλλος, correctly, we have only to read them as we should if they were printed Πελοπον νησος, καλ λος, in two words. Nothing but our impatience interferes with this. People call it a "tedious and drawling" pronunciation, which is another way of stating that it *adds time* to the syllable—the precise thing which it ought to do, and the want of which violates the true quantity. Another strange result of our neglect in this matter is the current notion, that *if we shorten a vowel,* as in κᾰλος, "shăděw," *we* ipso facto *double the following consonant!* Akin to this, yet contrary, is the erroneous statement, that "*vowels* are made long by position." It is the *syllable,* not the *vowel,* which gains time by the accumulation of consonants clogging its end; and this, because a new musical note is not heard until a new vowel begins.

It is every way desirable to forbid a confusion of χ with κ. The German *ch* is now so familiar to schools, that it might nearly always be introduced with ease, as the only pronunciation permitted for χ. In any case the English *ch* (*tch*) would be a better substitute for χ than our *k*, since it is one of the sounds of χ in modern Greek, and is quite distinct from that of κ. It

may be suspected indeed that σσ was once sounded as our *tch*, but the surmise has not enough proof to act upon. How we ought to sound ζ, involves a doubt: our own *z* is not a double letter. Professor Key's[5] opinion that Latin G and Greek Z were *originally* sounded like J (dj), has a high probability; but since verbs in -ζω of more recent formation make the future σω, it may be suspected that a new pronunciation came in at an early period. What was its utterance in the mouth of Plato, is a very perplexing question. Some controversy also exists as to the sound of β γ δ φ; but however it may be determined, it does not seem to have any interest in the view which we are at present taking.

But while it is confidently maintained that (with a just vocal pronunciation) prose Greek should by all means be sounded as the written accents dictate; the writer also suggests, that, until the invention of suitable chants, all Greek poetry would be better *read by scansion*. He is conscious, that by scanning of Greek choruses he has learnt in an hour what dry rules could not teach in a month, and has gained a feeling for the lyrical metres, second only to that which is imbibed by actual singing; for which it seems to be our only substitute. Nor ought we to be prejudiced against it as "a schoolboy method," even in regard to epic and tragic lines. It must be remembered that the Greek drama was not, like the English, an imitation of real life: its music was not cut sharply off and set between the acts; but pervaded the whole piece. The acting was less like real elocution, and more like singing, than ours: and if we could hear Æschylus reciting one of his own dramas, it is more than possible that we should pronounce it monotonous and puerile. If, however, scansion is forbidden, because of its marking the metre too strongly, then let no one refuse to admit the prose accentuation into verse. To flee to the arbitrary device of *pronouncing Greek by the laws of Latin accent* (lest, forsooth, we should lose some portion of the Greek melody!) is truly ridiculous, and almost an infatuation.

The practical pronunciation is settled by our public schools. The universities, having more important matters to attend to, would never interfere with the pronunciation which their students brought with them, if it were self-consistent and base l

[5] Penny Cyclopædia, under the letter Z.

a true knowledge of quantity. From Charter-house School alone have proceeded peculiarities of pronunciation, which have, more or less, affected the grammar-schools in all England: and if the masters of a single Public School were systematically to enforce pronouncing prose Greek with Greek accent and with old Greek vowels, this would win its way, far and wide, before many years are past, from the great additional facilities which it would give to learners.—Nor is the pains, taken in making boys pronounce foreign sounds accurately, all thrown away. To exercise their articulation in reading aloud a Latin or Greek sentence distinctly and perfectly, not only prepares them for speaking other European tongues, but is in itself useful, as giving fuller command of the organs of speech. Mr. Blackie has well remarked, in the article already referred to (vol. I.), that the English language is defective in breadth of vocalization. This, in fact, is an evil which keeps growing upon us, and makes the words of a public speaker less audible as well as less melodious. It would in part be counteracted by the habit of reciting, with the antique sonorous vowels, select portions of the ancient classics: and, though in a smaller matter, the public schools might thus fulfil a genuine conservative function, of not allowing good things to become obsolete.

FRANCIS WILLIAM NEWMAN.

XXXIV.

ON THE *LEGES ANNALES* OF THE ROMANS[1].

To the inquiry, what are the years appointed by the Lex Villia[2] for holding the several offices in the state, it is usual to answer,—Cicero makes a boast of his having obtained "omnes honores anno suo," consequently one may take the dates in Cicero's life at which he exercised the several functions to be those by law defined. In this reasoning there are two important errors to be condemned.

a. Cicero nowhere says that he obtained "*omnes* honores anno suo." In *Agrar.* II. c. 2, and *Brut.* 94, 323, he makes this assertion merely with reference to the consulship, and in the passage *de Offic.* II. 17, "nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quidem anno, sane exiguus sumptus *ædilitatis* fuit," the quæstorship and ædileship are clearly excluded, and the prætorship and consulship alone alluded to. As regards the remaining offices, he merely boasts (*Pison.* c. I.) of having been quæstor "*in primis*, ædilis *prior*."

b. I affirm that the expression "anno meo," "anno suo," generally refers not to the *age of the candidate*, but rather to the fixed delay, which had to expire after the administration of the office immediately preceding, before a man could obtain the one next in succession. When this interval had elapsed—according to Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 5, it consisted of a "biennium," which is also to be inferred from Cic. *Phil.* v. 17, "Si *anno superiore* quæstor fuisset,"—then came the "annus suus," when a man was by law entitled to become a candidate for the next appointment. Few, however, arrived at a consulship

[1] This paper originally appeared in the *Rheinish Museum* for 1844, p. 276, &c., and has been translated into English by C. K. Watson, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[2] Liv. XL. 44, "Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent caperentque." Ovid, *Fast.* v. 65, "Finitaque certis legibus est ætas unde petatur honos."

"hoc modo," and no "homines novi" previous to Cicero (*Agrar.* II. c. 2). If now any one entered into the first office at the earliest age allowed by law, then indeed the "annus suus" and the statutable year, as fixed by our supposition in the lex annalis, fell together; but the individual who exercised the functions of the first offices at a later period than was assigned by the law, might obtain the succeeding offices "anno suo," without being appointed to them, as a necessary consequence, at the earliest age allowed by the law. The following arguments speak in favour of this interpretation of the "annus suus:"—

1. Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 25.—"Multi clarissimi viri annum petitionis suæ non obierunt. Quod eo facilius nobis est, quod non est annus hic tibi destinatus, ut, si ædilis fuisses, post biennium *tuus annus* esset." Here the "annus tuus" is evidently made to depend not on the time of life, but on the "biennium post ædilitatem."

2. Cic. *Agrar.* II. c. 2.—"Reperietis, novos homines *multis annis post* petiisse *quam prætores fuissent,* aliquanto serius quam per ætatem *ac leges* liceret: qui autem *suo anno* petierint," &c. Here it is plain what the "annus suus" put in opposition means. While the "homines novi" in general did not venture to enter the contest till "multis annis post præturam," Cicero became a candidate "quam primum licitum fuit," and was appointed consul (immediately after the biennium, or) "anno suo," the others "serius quam per leges licebat," and hence, as a natural consequence, "serius quam per ætatem licebat." The "per ætatem *ac* leges" are, therefore, to be distinguished from each other.

3. Cic. *Brut.* 93, 321.—"Atque ut alia omittam in hoc spatio (*i. e.* per hoc tempus) et [in] *his post ædilitatem annis* et prætor primus et incredibili populi voluntate sum factus." Orelli rightly perceived that "et—et—et" here correspond with each other, and that "his (*i. e.* tam paucis) post ædilitatem annis" was one of the three distinctions which Cicero met with in his contest for the prætorship. Ellendt falsely supposed these words to be an explanation of "in hoc spatio," and hence wished to strike them out as a gloss.

4. Were not the above interpretations of the "annus suus" correct, Cicero could in no way have said of himself that he obtained the consulate "anno suo." For Cicero, three days

after his entry into the consulate, entered on his forty-fourth year, and was therefore consul "anno ætatis XLIV," which no one has yet looked upon as the statutable age.

5. According to Pliny (*Ep.* VII. 16), Pliny and Tiro were quæstors together. The latter was appointed tribune as a favour, a year sooner than Pliny. But Pliny overtook him in the prætorship, having had a year allowed him in the contest for that office. This leads us to take for granted that in obtaining entrance into one of the lower offices at an earlier period than usual, the succeeding office was also sooner obtained. The favour granted had reference to the intervening delay, not to the time of life, which has been correctly remarked, for this particular case by Masson (*Vita Plin.* p. 42).

6. The year in which any one urged a claim to a province after exercising the functions of consul or of prætor, was also called "annus suus." But in this case the year alluded to cannot mean the time of life, but only the time elapsed since the tenure of the office, which at many periods was fixed by law (Dio Cass. LIII. 14); Sueton. *Galb.* 3, "prohibitusque a Tiberio, sortiri *anno suo* proconsulatum." So also in Tac. *Agric.* c. 42, "aderat jam *annus* quo proconsulatum sortiretur."

A second preliminary inquiry is called for by an assertion of Manutius *de Legg. Romanis.* Cicero (*pro Lege Manil.* 21, 62) says: "Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex Senatus consulto legibus solutus, consul ante fieret quam *ullum alium* magistratum per leges capere licuisset." Pompey became a candidate for the consulate, according to Appian, *B. Civ.* I. 121, ἔτος ἔχων τέταρτον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριακόντα,—by a more accurate calculation he was 35¾ years old when he entered on the consular office. It is, therefore, clear that in the above passage Cicero is merely speaking of the "magistratus curules," and consequently one must pardon the expression "*ullum alium* magistratum," as belonging to the aristocratically coloured rhetoric of the new prætor, who now no longer puts the non-curule magistracies on the same footing which he so pointedly assigns to them in his Republic (*de Legg.* III. 3, 7)—"ollisque (ædilibus) ad honoris amplioris gradum is primus ascensus esto," while in *Verr. Acc.* c. 4, he makes the "quæstura" to be the "primus gradus honoris," as also Ulpian, de Off. Quæstoris (*Dig.* 1, tit. 13), "ingressus est enim (quæstura) et quasi primordium gerendorum honorum." But Manutius, p. 108, goes still further, and maintains that the

"lex annalis" had no reference whatever to the non-curule offices. The examples which Lipsius (*de Magistratibus*) cites in opposition to him, in which the expression "ætas quæstoria" occurs, do not, it must be owned, furnish much proof against Manutius, as they are all taken out of the time of the emperors, when, it is a well-known fact, that a definite year was fixed for the quæstorship. To this class I also add a passage in Quintilian (XII. 6), where he is speaking, indeed, of persons who lived during the Republic; but the expression "quæstoria ætas" might easily have been borrowed from the mode of speaking in Quintilian's time. Manutius might, too, have appealed to Latinus Pacatus' *Panegyricus Theodosii*, who remarks: "Cujus quidem rei ita fuit cura majoribus, ut non in amplissimis magistratibus adipiscendis solum, sed in præturis quoque aut ædilitatibus capessendis ætas spectata sit petitorum," where it certainly may be looked upon as surprising that he only went down as far as the ædileship; but one cannot place any reliance upon such an author.

It is certainly true, that in no writer of the time of the Republic do we anywhere find mention made of the age requisite for the quæstorship, and one might easily be led to conclude, that in the case of this office, which was originally solely of a military kind (Tac. *Annal.* XI. 22), no such restrictions were necessary, as the admission to it depended on military service and advancement. According to Polybius (VI. 19), a service of ten years was requisite for entering on the lowest office. That even in the time of the emperors, military service proved an introduction to a political career is shewn by Seneca, *Ep.* 47, "Quam multos splendidissime natos senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum fortuna depressit," and Dio Cass. LXVII. 11: Ἰούλιος Καλούασταρος κεχιλιαρχηκὼς ἐς βουλείας ἐλπίδα. Perhaps this was the motive which induced Gracchus (Plut. *Gracch.* c. 5) to institute a law, νεώτερον ὄντα ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ καταλέγεσθαι στρατιώτην, since the aristocracy availed themselves too much of the advantages presented by an early entrance into the army (Liv. XXV. 5), "ut qui minores annis septem et decem sacramento dixissent iis perinde stipendia procederent, ac si septem et decem annorum aut majores milites facti essent."

We see, however, that when the commencement of a political career, and the claims of standing thereon founded, are ever

spoken of, recurrence is always made to the quæstorship. If now we reflect, that the main restriction of the law bore an especial reference to the interval that had to elapse between the tenure of the several offices, and that still it is written in that law "*quot annos nati* quemque magistratum peterent caperentque," we must thence conclude that both the restrictions were combined in the law in such a manner, that the statutable time of life should fall in with the appointed intervals. But in that case, it were singular that no "ætas" should be taken and fixed by the statute for the first entrance into the honores. There were also many persons, not "homines militares," who became candidates for offices in the state, "propter juris civilis scientiam" (Cic. *p. Mur.* c. 23); and yet the statute must have been applicable to these. Analogy, however, is the strongest argument in support of the above supposition, inasmuch as in the time of the emperors (see below), and in the Municipia, at a still earlier period, a definite age was requisite for the first entrance into offices of state. As for the rest, it is plain from the following passages that the standing necessary for an early admission to the higher offices, depended not merely on the ædileship but also on the quæstorship, a fact, indeed, which Manutius would not deny. In Cic. *p. Muræn.* Sulpicius complains that Muræna was selected for the consulate in place of himself, and he observes, "Quæsturam *una* petiit et sum ego factus (*i.e.* renuntiatus) prior." (Cic. *Phil.* v. 17.) A decree is made in favour of Octavianus: "ejusque rationem, quemcunque magistratum petet, ita haberi, ut haberi per leges liceret, si anno superiore *quæstor* fuisset," *i.e.* he received the standing of a quæstorius of thirty-two years of age. At the same time[3] he was allowed to become a candidate for the consulate ten years before the statutable time, that is, according to the previous decree, it was ordered that he should be looked upon as in his 42nd year. This seems to me to indicate a "decursus honorum," comprising twelve years, from the 30th to the 42nd year of his life. As regards the importance of the lower offices, a passage of great weight is to be found in Cic. *p. Planc.* c. 21, where he quotes many instances of individuals, who had been elected consuls without having

[3] Dio Cass. XLVI. 29; Cic. *ad Brut.* ep. 15: "Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, *post celeriorem etiam* Servilius."

been ædiles, but brings forward as much more remarkable those cases where a man had become consul without having previously been tribunus plebis, or quæstor, or even tribunus militum."

That the common and received opinion (said to be based on the dates in Cicero's life) that the years fixed in the Lex Villia are the 31st, 37th, 40th, and 43rd of a man's life, in stating which it is left undecided whether such year be complete or commenced, whether it be the year of tenure, or of canvassing; that this opinion, I say, rests on a weak foundation, I trust I have proved above. I conceive that at the time of the Republic,

The age requisite for the Quæstorship	was	30	years
Tribunate	„	33	„
Ædileship	„	36	„
Prætorship	„	39	„
Consulate	„	42	„

Here I would apply the well-known juridical canon of later times, "annus cœptus pro pleno habetur[4]," to the time of canvassing alone, so that a man could canvass for the consulate, after the completion of his 41st year, and enter on his office shortly before, or immediately after, the completion of the 42nd year.

The time assigned for the ætas consularis in Cic. *Phil.* v. 17, tallies exactly with that above given. "Macedo Alexander nonne tertio et vicesimo mortem obiit? quæ est ætas nostris legibus decem minor quam consularis." Alexander died at the age of 32 years and two months, so that the commencement of the 43rd year was sufficient for the tenure of the consular office. Cicero, however, was consul "anno ætatis XLIV," as he had not been quæstor till ann. ætat. XXXII.

There are, too, stronger reasons for taking the 30th year for the quæstorship than the 31st, the former being made use of elsewhere under similar circumstances as the statutable year. So for example, in the Lex Servilia, the eligibility to serve among the "CDL viri" was restricted to the 30th year[5]. In

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[4] L. VIII. De Muneribus et Honoribus (*Dig.* 50, tit. 4): Annus autem cœptus pro pleno habetur; hoc enim in honoribus favoris causa constitutum est, ut pro plenis inchoatos accipiamus.

[5] *Monum. Legg.* ed. Haubold. pp. 33—35; Brisson. de Form. II. 24.

the Tabula Heracleensis the 30th year is expressly fixed as the statutable year for holding state offices in the Municipia, —"qui minor annis xxx est, erit, ne quis eorum in municipio, coloniâ, præfecturâ duumviratum, quatuorviratum, neve quem alium magistratum, neve petito, neve gerito[6]."

These restrictions among the Municipia are doubtless copied from the laws at Rome, and hence we may the rather be justified in quoting here the statute projected by the Prætor C Claudius, for the Halesini, "ne quis minor xxx annis natus senator cooptaretur" (Cic. *in Verr. Acc.* lib. II. 49, 122), and the restriction introduced among the Bithynians by the Lex Pompeia, "ne quis capiat magistratum, neve sit in senatu, minor xxx annorum" (Plin. *Ep.* x. 83); inasmuch as since the time of Augustus, when the "leges annales" were altered at Rome, these statutes also underwent a change in the provinces. (Plin. *l. c.*)

The exceptions which frequently present themselves as early as the time of the Republic, by which certain individuals held offices before the statutable age[7], must not be considered as arbitrary exemptions, but were, for the most part founded on the enactment itself. Military distinction and services allowed men to become candidates at an earlier age. Cic. *Acad.* II. 1: "Lucullus quæstor permultos annos admirabili quadam laude præfuit, deinde absens factus ædilis, continuo prætor, licebat enim celerius *præmio legis.*" Cic. *Phil.* XI. 5: (Bestia) "alter Cæsar Vopiscus ille, qui ex ædilitate consulatum petit, solvatur legibus, quanquam leges eum non tenent, *propter eximiam, credo, dignitatem.*" Furnius, too, appealed to his services when he became candidate for the prætorship (Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 25) without having been ædile.

In Appian (*B. Civ.* I. 101) Ofella declines complying with the law enacted anew by Sulla (*στρατηγεῖν ἀπεῖπε πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι καὶ ὑπατεύειν πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι*), and wishes to be made consul *διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος*, without having previously been quæstor and prætor. On the other hand, though it is true that Antonius, who was quæstor at the same time as Cicero (*pro Sull.* VI. 18), was, notwithstanding,

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[6] Haubold. *Monumen. Legg.* p. 119.
[7] Garatoni, *ad Phil.* v. 17; Drackenb. *ad Liv.* 25, 2; Val. Max. VIII. 15; Manutius, *de Legg.*

nominated consul two years before him, still this must only be considered as an anomaly that had crept in through the intrigues of Catiline's party, and which in fact brought upon him a charge "de ambitu," and a sentence of condemnation. The distinction paid to Cato on account of services of no ordinary kind (Val. Max. v. i. 14; Plut. *Cat.* 39)—"ut prætura extra ordinem ei daretur," must be referred, not to his "ætas," as Dio Cassius (XXXIX. 23) supposes—*στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι καίπερ μηδέπω προσήκουσαν*, but, as Manutius endeavours to prove, to the nature of the selection: "*campestrem* experiri temeritatem quam curiæ beneficio uti satius duxit," says Val. Max. *l. c.*

Before we pass on to the time of the emperors, we must answer a question which has been frequently mooted, namely, whether there existed a similar legal restriction previous to the "Lex Villia" (A. U. C. 574). That no "lex annalis" was in force in the earlier times is expressly stated by Tacitus (*Annal.* XI. 22) and Cicero (*Phil.* v. 17). Yet it has been repeatedly asserted that the "Lex Villia" was not the first. Thus a trace of another lex annalis, whose priority indeed was not positively affirmed, as its date was unknown, was found in Cicero *de Orat.* II. 64, 261, "Ut olim, Rusca quum legem ferret annalem, dissuasor M. Servilius, dic mihi, inquit, M. Pinari, si contra te dixero, mihi male dicturus es?" But in Livy (XL. 18) we find mention made of a prætor of the year 573, M. Pinarius Posca (other Codd. have Pusca). What readier solution can be given than that the M. Pinarius Rusca of Cicero is one and the same person as the M. Pinarius Pusca (read Rusca) of Livy. The opponent, too, of Rusca above mentioned, M. Servilius, is to be found in Livy (XL. 27) as a military tribune ann. 574. It would appear, then, that this Rusca took an active part in the debates on the Lex Villia, and came forward as its "suasor." If, however, we choose to lay stress on the expression of Cicero, "quum legem *ferret* annalem," we might then, perhaps, be at liberty to assume that in Liv. XL. 44, "eo anno rogatio *primum* lata est," must be so understood that by the "*primum lata est*," reference be made to another bringing in of the same bill by Rusca during the ensuing year. Compare Liv. x. 9, "tertio ea (lex Valeria) tum lata est."

The main passage, however, to which appeal is made is Liv. XXV. 2. "Huic (P. Scipioni Africano) petenti ædilitatem quum

obsisterent tribuni plebis, negantes rationem ejus habendam esse, quod nondum ad petendum legitima ætas esset, si me, inquit, omnes Quirites ædilem facere volunt satis annorum habeo." If we could here take "legitimus" in the more extended signification in which it frequently occurs elsewhere, as, for example, in Pliny, so as not to mean "statutable," but "fit," "proper," "suitable," we must not forget that Scipio was at that time hardly 22 years old, the difficulty would thus be removed.

Scipio's answer, too, agrees with this interpretation: "Satis annorum habeo si me Quirites ædilem facere volunt." In like manner when he says (Liv. XXXVIII. 51): "Ita si ab annis septendecim ad senectutem semper vos *ætatem meam* honoribus anteistis, ego vestros honores rebus gerendis præcessi," we must understand "ætas" to allude to Scipio's extreme youth, not to an age below the standard fixed by some statute.

It cannot, however, be denied that such a use of the word "legitimus," as it there stands, would be in every way censurable. To refer it, with Heineccius[8], to the year when Scipio attained his majority, is quite unwarrantable, as during the Republic no trace whatever can anywhere be found of the majority having any connection with the admission into the honores. That no conclusion can be drawn from this passage with respect to the fact itself of the existence of a lex annalis at that time, seems to me to be made clear from Polybius (x. 4, &c.), who, although he enlarges fully on the contest for the office and on Scipio's various arguments, yet throws out no hint of the existence of an adverse law. It only remains for us to assume that there is an anachronism in Livy[9]. The same anachronism appears in Plutarch in a similar case; for in Livy (XXXII. 7), T. Quintius Flamininus becomes candidate for the consulate immediately after the quæstorship, when he was not yet 30 years old. (Plut. *Flam.* c. 2.) The tribunes oppose his

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[8] *Commentar. ad Legem Juliam et Papiam Poppæam*, p. 203.

[9] It appears to us that M. Wex has been fighting with a shadow. Why may not the words "legitima ætas" have reference to the law mentioned in a former part of this essay, by which it was enacted that no one should enter upon the lowest civil office without having served for ten years, and if not to the lowest, *a fortiori*, not to a higher. Entering the army at 17, as was usual among the Romans, the competitor for civil offices must have been at least 27 years of age; but Scipio, we have seen, was only 22.—*Note of Trans.*

claims by the remark, "nobiles homines ædilitatem præturamque fastidire et media transcendendo summa imis continuare." The Senate, however, decided "qui honorem, quem sibi capere *per leges liceret*, in eo populo creandi quem velit potestatem fieri æquum esse." At that time, therefore, there was no lex annalis in force. Plutarch, notwithstanding, says (c. 2), that the tribunes declared themselves hostile to the claim, inasmuch as he *παρὰ τοὺς νόμους εἰσβιάζεσθαι εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχήν.*

The law underwent great alterations after the time of Augustus. According to Dio Cass. LII. 20, *εἰς δὲ τό συνέδριον (καταλέγεσθαι χρὴ) πεντε-και-εικοσι-έτεις; ταμιεύσαντές τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ἢ δημαρχήσαντες στρατηγεῖτωσαν τριακον-τοῦ-ται γενόμενοι,* persons entered upon the quæstorship, and into the Senate at the age of 25, and the prætorship at 30. It is true that this restriction is represented in Dio Cassius merely as a proposition suggested to Augustus, as the basis of this fictitious conversation. Other proofs can be adduced to shew that such was really the case. It also appears to me that the new shape given to the statute, as far at least as regards the time of admission, was in every way analogous to that which it originally bore. In early times, campaigns of five years were required in order to become a military tribune, and of ten to become a quæstor. (Polyb. VI. 19.) Now Augustus allowed the sons of senators to assume the rank of tribune immediately on their entering the army (Suet. *Octav.* 38; *Tib.* c. 9; Tacit. *Agric.* c. 5); consequently the duration of their career was now five years, and they became qualified for the quæstorship in their 25th instead of in their 30th year.

As one of the main proofs of this statute, appeal is justly made to l. II. de Minoribus XXV Annis (*Dig.* 4, tit. 4): "Nec per liberos suos rem suam maturius a curatoribus recipiat quod enim legibus cavetur, ut singuli anni per singulos liberos, remittantur, ad *honores* pertinere Severus ait, non ad rem suam recipiendam." Lipsius remarks on this passage, "Quæ lex subtilius considerata adstruit hoc ævum;" he also says (in his *Excurs. ad Tac. Annal.* III. 29), "Colligas idem non obscure ex l. II. de Minoribus;" he probably means that if the 25th year had not been the year both of majority and of admission into civil offices, it would never have entered any one's head to extend those privileges which a person was entitled to on entering into civil offices, to the year in which he attained his

majority. L. VIII. "de Minoribus et Honoribus" (*Dig.* 50, tit. 4), speaks still more clearly in favour of the above supposition: "Ad rempublicam administrandam ante vicesimum quintum annum, vel ad munera quæ non patrimonii sunt, vel honores admitti minores non oportet." If I am here told that that book of the Digests treats upon the Municipia and Provinces, Jacobus Gothofredus, who in his *Fontes quatuor Juris Civilis*, makes this passage in the code of universal validity, may be answerable for his assertion to the Jurists. The exemptions granted by the decrees of the emperors also indicate that the 25th year was the year of admission. So in Dio Cass. LIII. 28, and LIV. 10, Tiberius, who at that time was not quite 20 years of age, is allowed "quinquennio maturius magistratus adire." Germanicus, according to Suetonius (*Calig.* 1), in his 19th year received the "quæsturam quinquennio ante quam per leges liceret[10]."

After the year 760 a remission of one or more years was granted by the Lex Julia and Papia Poppæa, which allowed to married persons, especially to those who had children, various indulgences in the competition for places of honour, in addition to other advantages connected with both public and private rights. According to Heineccius[11], the "caput" of the law in connection with this subject ran thus:—"Qui candidatorum plures liberos habebit, præfertur: petentibusque honores singuli anni remittuntor, eisque honores citius quam per leges annuarias licet petere, sine fraude liceat."

The proofs on this subject to be met with in ancient authors are in Tacit. *Ann.* II. 51, III. 56, XV. 19; Sueton. *Tiber.* c. 35; Plin. *Ep.* VII. 16; Ulpian, l. II. *De Minoribus* XXV *Annis.* We must here take occasion to correct an error of Heineccius, who, in support of these legal exemptions, quotes (p. 221) inscriptions out of Gruter and Reinesius, in which deceased children of one or two years of age are termed "bene merentes." Heineccius supposes that these children could have possessed no further *merit* than through their existence procuring these legal indulgences for their fathers. If Heineccius had but

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[10] For similar exemptions see Dio Cassius, LVI. 17, 26, 28; LVIII. 23; LIX. 22; LX. 5; Tac. *Ann.* III. 29; Lampridius, *Commod.* c. 2; Spartianus, *Julian.* Capitolinus, *Marcus.*

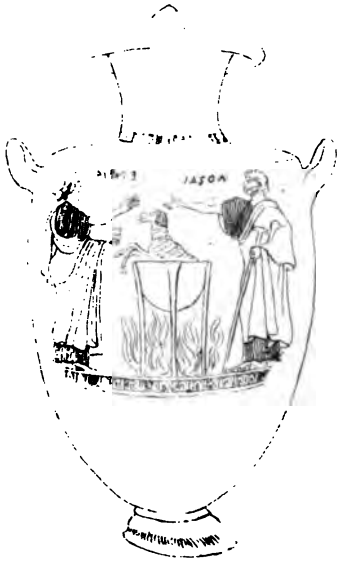
[11] *Commentar. ad Legem Juliam et Papiam Poppæam.*

inspected some more inscriptions, he would have found that, among the Romans, the dead were almost uniformly called "bene merentes." There is room, therefore, for conjecturing that the "bene merens" of the Romans was a similar kind of "epitheton ornans" as with us (der Selige), "the blessed."

I have pointed out an analogous usage among other ancient nations in a small treatise, entitled *Professor Ewald's Merits as a Punic Scholar*, p. 32. We are, however, furnished with an excellent authority in support of the enactment, by Tacitus *Agric.* c. 6: "Auctus est ibi filiâ, in *subsidium* simul et solatium, nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit." If the question be here put, How could the daughter be as a "subsidium" to Agricola? it were difficult to give any other answer than that she was the means of procuring him those indulgences in his political career which the "Lex Julia et Papia Poppæa" insured. If Walch, who, in p. 413 of his Commentary, brings the whole chronology of Tacitus into confusion by his scanty acquaintance with the "lex annalis"—if Walch, I say, had reflected that Agricola was married and had children, and that both these circumstances were of considerable influence (Dio Cass. LIII. 13, LIV. 6, and elsewhere, distinguishes *τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιΐας ἄθλα*), he could have spared us the chronological reasoning there inserted, which casts suspicion alike on his knowledge of antiquity and on his skill in arithmetic.

C. WEX.

IASON


IASON

XXXV.

THE YOUTH OF JASON RENEWED BY MEDEIA.

(A CANINO VASE.)

THE intelligible relations which exist between art and literature render Archæology, or the study of figured antiquity, and Philology, sisters. They mutually assist each other, and attention to Archæology often clears up many obscure points which Philology doubts, or with difficulty settles. No scholia are more satisfactory than, or as old as, the remains of the very generation among whom the great efforts of the Attic dramatists were produced, and the vase I propose to explain may be considered, in point of time, contemporaneous with Æschylus himself.

The vase represents a familiar myth, treated in an unusual manner; but one not unknown to the best authorities of classical literature. It is a hydria, or three-handled water-vase, such as those seen on the heads of the hydriophoræ, painted with red figures, upon a black ground, and executed in the most flourishing period of the Græco-Italian fictile art, when the furnaces of Etruria and Southern Italy had attained their greatest excellence. Such vases are rarely of this colour, and are more commonly found with black figures upon a red ground, and of an earlier epoch. It was purchased in 1843, of the Princess of Canino, and was one of the hundred select vases of Lucien Bonaparte found on his estate at Canino[1].

On the right side of the vase stands Jason, ΙΑΣΟΝ, draped in a woollen talaric tunic, over which is thrown a peplos, in the manner in which old men are depicted on such monuments. His right hand is stretched forth in the attitude of surprise or command, in his left hand he holds a crutch or stick, σκῆπτρον. His hair and beard are white, or colourless,

[1] It is described *Mus. Etr.* 4to. Viterbo, 1829, p. 154, No. 1693, and alluded to by De Witte, *Coll. du Pr. de Canino*, 8vo. Par. 1837, p. 73, No. 124, n. 1.

through age. He has arrived at the term of human existence. Immediately before him is a tripodial vessel or caldron, τριποῦς λέβης, in which is placed an old ram, to be boiled, and which leaps forward towards the other side. Here stands Medeia, AIƎΔƎ[M], with her name written retrograde before her. Her hair is bound with a fillet, and gathered into a knot behind. She is draped exactly as Jason, and holds in her left hand a cup, with which she seems in the act of anointing the ram.

The subject of Medeia and Pelias is found on several vases, both of the archaic, and of the more finished style, treated in nearly the same manner as that of Jason on the present vase. On an amphora, published by M. Gerhard[2], Medeia stands draped as here, but wearing on her head a mitra. The old Pelias is seated upon an ocladias, or stool with folding legs, white-haired, and draped in the same female costume, and holding a stick; before them is the caldron, the ram, and two of the daughters of Pelias, probably Asteropeia and Antiopeia[3]. A second vase, of archaic style, found at Canino, has the same subject, with the following differences: one daughter of Pelias only appears before the caldron, and at her side kneels down a bearded, naked man, supplying the fire with fuel; this should be Jason[4]. A third vase of this style exists in the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican; the action is nearly the same, but the artist has chosen the moment when Medeia has seized the aged Pelias, and is dragging him into her caldron[5]. Another vase, with the Pelias myth, has been published by Tischbein[6]; and another, edited by Millingen, represents the restoration of the fleece to Pelias, with the tripod in the background of the scene[7].

On a stamnos of the more finished class, Medeia appears as before, holding up her hand to shew her skill to the daughters

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[2] *Auserlesene Vasen*, taf. CLVII. Vase in the British Museum. Cf. De Witte, *Desc. d'une Collect. des Vases peints*. 8vo. Par. 1837, p. 72, No. 124.

[3] Cf. Paus. VIII. 11, 12. Apollod. I. 10, makes them Pisidice, Pelopeia, Hippothoe, and Alcestis.

[4] Also in the British Museum, and one of the hundred select vases. Cf. De Witte, *Cat.* l. c. No. *Cat. du Pr. de Canino*, 1521, marked c* 1521.

[5] Maximis, *Mus. Gregor.* fol. Rom. 1845, pte. II. tav. LXXXIII.

[6] Tom. I. pl. VI.

[7] Div. VII. *Peint. des Vases.* Pl. VII. Cf. Müller, *Handbuch*, p. 645, s. 412, div. 4.

of Pelias, one of whom hastens to acquaint her father, who is seated upon a cube[8]. A bas-relief, with the same subject of Medeia and the Peleiadæ, exists in the court of the former French Academy at Rome[9]; but this subject is excessively rare at the Roman period.

I have cited these vases because they shew that the subject of the restoration of Pelias was equally ancient, in point of art; and Pherecydes[10], B.C. 544, describes the subject of the Peleiadæ inducing their father to undergo the experiment of entering the Medeian caldron, as a settled national tradition. About the LXXII. Olympiad, B.C. 491, it had engaged the pencil of the Athenian painter Micon[11], about the same time Sophocles had produced his drama of the *Rhizotomi*, which had for its plot the Peleiadæ cutting roots for the incantations of Medeia, in order to renew their father's existence[12], and Euripides produced his maiden play of the *Peleiadæ* in the LXXXI. Olympiad[13]. These tragedies were either subsequently parodied or alluded to by the authors of the middle and new comedy—as we find in the recooking of Demos in the *Hippeis* of Aristophanes[14], and the *Peleiadæ* of Diphilus[15]. The painting of Micon, which represented two daughters on the scene, must have been modelled on the same tradition, or copied from an older work of art, whence the vases also derived their subject. In following the earlier vases, it is evident that we are in possession of the clue to a mythus, the wrecks of which are found in the dramatists, and in the later writers of the Argonautica, who have followed the plots of the Athenian stage to the suppression of the earlier national legends. But the stage modified the mythus for the passions of the audience, and blended parts of different mythi as best suited the development of the play. Thus, in the sacrifice of Diomedes Jason[16], or of Hercules Archenautes[17],

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[8] Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasen*, l. c. 2.

[9] *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, III. p. 183. Cf. Vinet, *Médée terre cuite inédite, Revue Archéol.* 1845, p. 355.

[10] Arg. to the *Medeia*, ed. Porson, Lond. 1821, p. 4.

[11] Paus. VIII. 11, 2.

[12] Welcker, *Die Griech. Tragœd.* p. 628, foll. 340, foll.

[13] See Life published by Elmsley; also Plot in *Moses Chos. Mai ad Euseb.* p. 43. Dindorf, *Poetæ Scenici*, loc. cit.

[14] Welcker, l. c. p. 13 .

[15] Meineke, *Fragm. Poet. Comic.* p. 408.

[16] Braun, in *Bullet.* of the Arch. Inst. of Rome, 1838, p. 12, sq.

[17] *Ibid.* Both these vases are now in the British Museum.

and in the Jason vomited up by the serpent of the Fleece before Pallas Athene Hygieia[18], a tale transferred from the Heracleid, and in the renovated Jason, we have so many fragments of the older legend known to Simonides, Pherecydes, and the earlier mythologists[19].

The first positive relation of the renovation of Jason occurs in the Scholiast to the Ἱππεῖς of Aristophanes in an extract from the seventh book of Pherecydes. Ἡ Μήδεια λέγεται, ὡς μὲν Αἰσχύλος ἱστορεῖ τὰς τροφοὺς τοῦ Διονύσου ἀφεψήσασα ἀνανέασαι ποιῆσαι μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν· ὡς δ' ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποιήσας καὶ τὸν Αἴσονα· . . Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης τὸν Ἰάσονα[20]. The Scholiast has here traced the mythus from the plot of Æschylus, avowedly derived from the renovation of the old Æson, to its source in the primitive legend of the restoration of Jason himself; and we here have the progress of the version from Pherecydes, through the author of the *Nostoi*, down to the *Nurses of Dionysus* of Æschylus. The same occurs in the Argument of the *Medeia*[21], but arranged in its true chronological order. Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης φασὶν, ὡς ἡ Μήδεια ἀνεψήσασα τὸν Ἰάσονα νέον ποίησειε· περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὁ τοὺς Νόστους ποίησας· φησὶν οὕτως· αὐτίκα δ' Αἴσονα φίλον κόρον ἡβώοντα.

γῆρας ἀποξύσασ' εἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι—φάρμακα πολλὰ ἕψουσ' ἐπὶ χρυσείοισι λέβησιν.

Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν ταῖς Διονύσου Τροφοῖς (tom. II. p. 639, ed. Pauw.). ἱστορεῖ ὅτι καὶ τὰς Διονύσου τροφοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν ἀνεψήσασα ἐνεοποίησε.

It, however, appears to have amounted to a proposition in the account of Pherecydes, and to have been attended with the same demonstration which took place at the renovation of the ram before Asteropeia and Antiopeia in the presence of the aged Pelias.

Müller, who has referred to these passages, cites the altar of Dosiades, and the λέβητι διατρευθεὶς δέμας of Lycophron[22],

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[18] Gerhard, *Annal. d'Instit. Archéol.* VIII. p. 289.

[19] It is to be remembered that the serpent of the Fleece was the offspring of *Cetys* and Phorcys (Hesiod, *Theog.* 333—336); and that it is by Cetys that Hercules is vomited up.

[20] *Fragm. Histor. Græc.* 8vo. Par. 1841. Schol. ad *Aristoph. Hipp.* 1318-22.

[21] Ed. Porson, 8vo. Lond. 1821, p. 4.

[22] *Alexand.* 1315. Cf. Schol. *ad eund.*, which merely notices the renovation and boiling of Jason. Millin, *Gal. Myth.* 425; Böttiger, *Vasengemälde*, a, s. 164, 1, 2, 5.

which connects the subject more positively with the actual representation on the vase. Now, had the legends of the author of the *Nostoi*, or of the Pelias mythus formed part of the same tradition, the appearance of the ram would have been an unnecessary and tasteless repetition.

The connection which Müller[23] finds between the Jason tradition and that of the destruction of Learches by Athamas, and of the casting him into the caldron[24], when Ino or Leucothea, the nurse of Dionysus, fled into the sea, seems rather part of the plot of the *Athamas* of Æschylus, or of the later deduced story of the *Nurses of Dionysus*[25]. It is evident that he would connect this with the mystery of Dionysus torn in pieces, and cooked by the Titans, discovered by Zeus, and restored by Melicertes[26]; but there are other traditions with which it is also allied.

The mythus of Pelops[27], who is cut up and seethed by the impious Tantalus, the shoulder of whom is eaten by Thetis or Demeter[28], and the not entirely recovered limbs of Absyrtus[29], Medeia's brother, and the lost portion of the scattered Osiris[30], the young Triptolemos placed by Demeter on the glowing coals, and the child Achilles subjected to the boiling caldron or the same fiery ordeal by Thetis[31], to purify him from his mortal or earthly portion, are repetitions of the same one idea.

The restoration of Pelops was committed to the Kadmilus Hermes, who seethed and restored him in the same caldron in which the first dressing had taken place. The version of Bacchylides[32], which commits the charge of again submitting his dissected limbs to the Titan Rhea, presents a still more distinct relation with the Medeia mythus, for these early legends had but few types, and reproduced in different regions the same event; but the transfer of the renewal

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[23] *Orchomenos*, p. 288—174.

[24] *τὸν μὲν τρίπους ἐδέξατ' οἰκεῖος λέβης—ἀεὶ φυλάσσων τὴν ὑπὲρ πῦρος στάσιν*. Cf. Dindorf, *Poetæ Scenici*, 8vo. Lips. 1830, App. p. 1; *Athen.* II. p. 37, f. This was the λέβης τρίπους.

[25] Müller, l. c.; *Athen.* II. 33, f. VIII. 16; *Phot.* 47, 106, *ἐψίουσα*.

[26] Cf. Arnob. *adv. Nationes*, I. 41, v. 19; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 15, ed. Pott.; then committed to Apollo, and buried at Parnassus; Müller, *Orchom.* p. 288—174.

[27] *Olymp.* I. 40.

[28] Schol. *ad eund.*

[29] Dionys. Perieg. 48, with Eustath.

[30] Strabo, XVII. p. 559, ed. Cor.

[31] Apollod. III. 6, 2. Schol. *Apos.* ph. IV. 846. This was according to the *Ægimios*, a poem ascribed to Hesiod.

[32] Schol. *ad Pind. Olymp.* I. 40.

of Æson became a necessary consequence of the primitive alteration of the legend to the episode of the Peleiadæ, and the still later tale of the marriage of Jason and Glauce. The original mythus must have been Medeia and Jason settled happily, and restored in old age, either in Thessaly or Colchis, to their pristine youth in the land of magic. The difficulty of analyzing the mythus of Jason has been felt by all who have attempted it; but his name, as well as that of Medeia, bears an intelligible relation with his adventures, and points out that the whole legend has been invented upon a system, and is not the spontaneous emanation of local mind. It is connected with Jasis, ἴασις[33], and it must be remembered that he is the son of Αἴσων by Alcimede or Poly-mede. His own primitive name was Dio-medes[34], and he was committed to the instruction of the Centaur Chiron. Medeia, whose name is equally referable to the healing art, is more a poisoner than an enchantress, and the exploits of Jason are a mixture of heroism and empiricism. It is with drugs he encounters the serpent, and armed with antidotes that he ploughs the field with the brazen-horned bulls, and encounters the armed crop of the dragon's teeth. Medeia's actions are more unequivocally empirical, and in the last grand action of the crisis, the animal released is the same whose fleece is the subject of the Argonautic expedition[35]. Hence the appearance of the tripod in the scene of the reception of the golden fleece on a monument already cited. The vase of the Museum confirms the version of Pherecydes and Simonides, and proves that the potters did not invent important variations of any legend, but either copied the great works of art extant in their day, or adopted the peculiar traditions of the races amidst whom they were placed.

S. Birch.

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[33] Vinet, in *Revue Archéol.* 1845, loc. cit., and the opinions of Creuzer, Müller, Lenormant, and others.

[34] Cf. Schol. *ad Apollon. Argon.* I. 554; Duc de Luynes, *Etudes Numismatiques*, p. 69; Lenormant, in De Witte, *Cat. du Pr. de C.* p. 51, n. 1.

[35] Noél Conte, *Mythologia*, which compare with Timæus, fr. 13, in *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* Par. 1841, p. 195, No. 13, from Tzetzes, *ad Lyc.* 615, and the vase edited by Braun, *Bullet.* loc. cit.

XXXVI.

ETHNOLOGY AND PHILOLOGY.

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1. Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique. Tome premier. *Philological Article:*
   Histoire et Origine des Foulahs ou Fellans. Par Gustave D'Eichthal.
2. Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique. Tome second. *Philological Articles:*
   a. Recherches sur l'Histoire de l'Anthropologie. Par M. Vivien.
   b. Mémoire sur les Guanches. Par Sabin Berthelot. *Notice deferred.*
   c. Études sur l'Histoire primitive des Races Océanniennes et Américaines. Par Gustave D'Eichthal.
   d. Esquisse Grammaticale de la Langue Jeboue. Par M. D'Avezac. *Notice deferred.*
   e. Vocabulaire de la Langue Pongua. Par M. Pacifique Henri Delaporte.
   f. Vocabulaires Guiolof, Mandingue, Foule, Saracole, Serère, Bagnon, et Floupe.
3. On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries of the South. By Dr. Beke. Read at the Philological Society, April 25, 1845.
4. Recherches sur les Langues Celtiques. Par W. F. Edwards. Paris, 1844.
5. Introduction to a Grammar of the Language of Burmah. By Thomas Latter. Calcutta, 1845.

The above-named works have each and all an Ethnological haracter, although in the Burmese Grammar it has rather the ature of an excrescence. Upon the strength of this they are lassed together.

Upon two of the articles in the *Mémoires de la Société Eth-ologique* the remarks have been deferred until our next number, hen the nature of their subject-matter will bring them under

notice in company with several other treatises upon the Berber language, and the grammatical structure of the African tongues in general.

I. Recherches sur l'Histoire de l'Anthropologie. Par M. Vivien.

The statements of M. Vivien are somewhat too unqualified for a critical dissertation, too dogmatic for an agreeable one, and much too inconsecutive for a true one.

The first of his leading doctrines is the subordination of the study of languages to the study of physical conformation as an instrument in Ethnology. The second is the *non*-unity of the Human Race. Although both positions may be true, it would be an error to consider that either of them has been established by the present paper.

It is undoubtedly true that the best classifications in Botany, Zoology, and Mineralogy are those which are founded upon the *tout ensemble* of attributes rather than upon any single characteristic; but it is equally true that (except for certain purposes of transcendental natural history) the whole system of classification is a *means*, rather than an *end*. Now the ends of classification in Ethnography are not the ends of classification in Zoology, in Botany, and in Mineralogy. Man has his History and his ancestors; animals have their ancestors only; minerals have neither. Ethnography, to be historical, must necessarily deal with the question of *descent*, so that the question of pedigree is, either consciously or unconsciously, at the bottom of almost all its investigations. Herein the comparison of languages is the pre-eminent instrument. Common conditions of climate may blacken a skin, common conditions of intellectual development may modify a facial angle, but common conditions of nothing hitherto investigated will make different nations express the same ideas by the same combinations of articulate sounds. This distinction ought at least to have been recognized by M. Vivien.

Other laxities of thought arise from the indefinitude of certain terms. What is the value of the division expressed by the word *race?* Does it merely mean a *variety* of the Human Kind? If so, what is the meaning of saying that *les différentes*

races humaines sont isolément descendues, de même que le reste de la création organique, d'un certain nombre de foyers de création? Or is it synonymous with *species?* If so, why not employ the language of the naturalists in its full extent, and with its convenient precision? To do so would be to proclaim the true nature of the problems in hand. Unless we recognize the doctrine of several protoplasts for a single species, the question is concerning one of two facts, *viz.* whether blacks differ from whites as a bull-dog from a grey-hound, or as a bull-dog from a wolf.

A curious form of paralogism is embodied in the following sentences. Speaking of descent, M. Vivien writes—*De genre à genre, on n'imaginera pas qu'une marmotte ait pu provenir d'un éléphant, un cèdre d'un rosier; de même dans chaque genre, d'espèce à espèce, on aura peine à se persuader que le pécari des forêts de l'Orénoque descende du cochon asiatique, le buffle du Missouri du yak tibétain, le singe de Brésil de celui de la Guinee. Autant vaudrait-il dire que l'herbe qui croît aux rives de l'Amazone provient de celle qui couvre les flancs de l'Altai.* The paralogism here embodied consists in the confusion between descent in the way of geographical distribution, and descent in the way of specific affiliation. The word *provient* may mean two things. A potato may *come from* a garden, and a man may *come from* his grandfather. Now, the ethnographical question concerning the negro of Africa and the Indian of America, wherein the consideration of the distance in geographical space is superadded to the difference in physical conformation, is just the question that suffers complication from this ambiguity.

Pre-eminently summary is the way in which the two leading facts fundamental to the whole question are disposed of.

1. *Qu'il soit démontré—que nulle influence de climat ou de régime n'a pu produire les différences organiques qui séparent un négre d'un Européen.* We join with M. Vivien in saying *qu'il soit démontré.* Yet who has an opinion upon the matter worth listening to? We know what sort of *data* it ought to rest upon, and we also know that such *data* are not yet in the hands of investigators. The history of ethnological influences will justify no *negative* statements.

2. The second point is still more of an assumption. *L'homme, plus répandu sur le globe que nulle autre espèce du règne animal,*

et plus différent de lui-même dans les contrées diverses qu'il habite, que la plupart des espèces d'un même genre ne diffèrent entre elles—What naturalist thinks so? *Perhaps* the difference between an Icelander and a Hottentot may approach that between an orang-outang and a chimpansee. *Perhaps* it may exceed it. Suppose that it does so. The comparison is made between extreme varieties in one case, and extreme affinities on the other, and can hold good for a single case only, not for the *plupart des espèces*. This is dogma, not induction.

The latter half of M. Vivien's dissertation deals with the agreement or disagreement of the philological and physiological tests as determined by observation and as currently recognized. Herein there are several over-statements. In these, however, the learned world in general may be said to acquiesce. They do so wrongly, but that is their fault, not M. Vivien's. It is no *positive* demerit on his side to use current notions as established facts. His arguments fall properly and logically under two heads.

1. Similarity of physical conformation, with dissimilarity of language. The examples are: 1. the tribes of America; 2. Northern Asia; 3. Caucasus; 4. Africa. The writer of the present remarks has lists that break down each and all of these divisions. Upon most of these groups good philologists have made bad over-statements, which little has been done to correct.

2. Dissimilarity of physical conformation, with similarity of language. The Icelander and Hindoo are equally arranged under the great division called Indo-European; a division pre-eminently founded on language. But is it certain that the Hindoo dialects are not Tamul, rather than Sanskrit? The philological doctrines of Campbell and Ellis have certainly an important bearing on this question. The influence of climate is in this case only an alternative.

The preceding remarks have had one aim, and one aim only. They have embodied reasons for considering that the accuracy of M. Vivien's doctrines is not on a par with the tone of authority in which they are enunciated.

II. Histoire et Origine des Foulahs ou Fellans. Par Gustave D'Eichthal.

III. Études sur l'Histoire primitive des Races Océanniennes et Américaines. Par Gustave D'Eichthal.

M. D'Eichthal's doctrines concerning the Foulahs have been some years before the world, and the half-adoption of them by some writers, taken with the hesitating character of their dissent on the part of others, is either a very favourable measure of the courtesy of language, or a very unfavourable one of the definitude of idea on the part of the Philological world in general.

M. D'Eichthal believes the Foulahs to be Malays, and his doctrine has been printed in France, and recognized as having something in it in Germany, in America, and in England.

M. D'Eichthal writes as a man with a broad view. His geographical belief is in the original existence of a Pacific Atlantis; his historical faith is in a primitive civilization somewhere in the neighbourhood of Otaheite. He considers that this influenced America on one side, and Egypt on the other; that it spread across each continent, to the Mandingoes and Caribbs respectively; and that proofs of this are to be found in the high theological character of some South Sea songs, and in certain affinities between the Foulah and Polynesian languages in regard to those fundamental terms which demonstrate common descent, and between the Polynesian and Coptic, &c., in respect to such secondary ones as denote political or religious intercourse. The prior civilization of Polynesia is especially insisted upon as an *axiome ethnologique.* It has certainly the axiomatic element of want of proof.

Like all writers who submit their common sense to their arithmetic, M. D'Eichthal affects the accuracy of what is called the numerical system, and measures his probabilities by a kind of philological Statistics on the question of the Foulo-Polynesian affinities. He has his plausibilities of the first degree in one table, and his plausibilities of the second degree in another. *Barkihi* and *wrakso* he thinks sufficiently identical to be placed together in schedule A. They are words *dont l'analogie dans le foulah et dans les dialectes malaisiens m'a paru probable.*

Diangole and *ovange*, however, *n'offrent qu'une similitude moins frappante, ou même contestable.*

In his second paper he has the following list of words common to the Coptic of Egypt and the Vanikoro of the New Hebrides :—

FRENCH.	COPTIC.	VANIKO.
Dent	Nadje	Indjé
Lait	Erote	Onila, ero
Œil	Bal	Maleo, mala, mateo
Homme	Rôme, lôme	Ran-ouka, lam-ouko
Enfant	Alou	Alouan

Now we submit that the four first words of this list prove the French to be Coptic quite as much as they prove the Vanikoro to be so, the letter-changes being equally admissible on either side.

We submit, also, that, from the names of the different parts of the human body only, a fair list of French and Polynesian homonyms may be made out, and that without any violence of assumption ; thus :—

Peau in French	may equal	*bawa* in Lampong
Sang	„	*rahan* in Timor
Bouche	„	*bawa* in Macassan
Langue	„	*layah* in Bali
Cou	„	*vou* in Madagascar
Pied (*pié*)	„	*pe* in Madagascar
Jambe	„	*kempol* in Javanese

These last remarks indicate the real causes of the paradox of conclusions like M. D'Eichthal's, and the mischief of his principles of reasoning. They prove any thing and every thing. Here follows an off-hand case in favour of the first African language we think of (the Ashantee) with the Polynesian. Twenty-six words are compared. The nine following have an average amount of Polynesian similitudes, equal to that of the words in M. D'Eichthal's schedule A :—

1. *Man* = obarumba, Ashantee ; berimba, Fantee = burani, Macassar.
2. *Woman* = babesia, Ashantee = barbai, Lampong.
3. *House* = odan, Ashantee = taon, Madagascar.
4. *Door* = opuno, Ashantee = pintu, Malay ; labang, Madura ; lawang, Javanese.
5. *Sheep* = ujainteni, Ashantee = angondri, Madagascar.

6. *Head* = miti, Ashantee = murdo, Javanese.
7. *Ear* = asu, Ashantee = sofi, Madagascar.
8. *Fire* = ojia, Ashantee = ahi, Timur.
9. *Tree* = idua, Ashantee = wit, Javanese.

It may be objected that 9 to 26 is not as 62 to 117. We eld to the cogencies of the Rule of Three. But then, we ɔubt as to *dhiam* (or *ghiom*) and *yek* being words *dont l'anagie nous a paru probable.*

Who shall insure a language against the displacements ıat can be effected by such a lever as M. D'Eichthal? 'hen we contemplate its powers, we tremble for the fate of ır own dearly-beloved vernacular. What if M. D'Eichıal, in revenge for our strictures, prove that we are writers of degraded Hottentot, or speakers of disorganized Esquimaux! e can do it if he likes. May he be merciful as he is strong.

M. D'Eichthal is far from deficient in philological learng. He will, probably, before finishing, go through more ɔcabularies than any man living; he will, sooner or later, ;ove fifty unconnected languages to have fifty incompatible finities; when, perhaps, he will discover that, as in Irish 'ibis, a tongue may be in a dozen places at once. If, after ıis, he abandon statistics, good work may be embodied in s dissertations. At present, their most artistic element is the ıe light and shade contrasts between their evidence and their ınclusions.

IV. Vocabulaire de la Langue Pongo. Par M. Pacifique Henri Delaporte.

This valuable vocabulary was taken on board the *Malouine* ırvette, in the year 1840, from the mouth of Oino, nephew of ıe King of Gaboon, by M. Pacifique Henri Delaporte. All ossarial information for these parts of Africa is of great ıdue. Nothing is more fragmentary than our knowledge for ıe whole tract between the Ashantee country and Loango. 'ith the exception of the works of D'Avezac and Crowther, r the Yarribean languages, there is nothing beyond brief and complete vocabularies, unarranged and unfixed, different nguages being quoted under the same names, and the same

language being quoted under different ones. A rough review of our data, taken in order from north to south, verifies this opinion on their insufficiency:—

1. For the dialects of Dahomey little if any thing has been added to the confused vocabularies of the *Mithridates*.

2. For the coast between Dahomey and Benin are D'Avezac's papers on the Jebou.

3. For the kingdom of Benin about twenty words, taken by Monsieur D'Avezac from the mouth of Oche-Fêkouè, and a list of Mrs. Kilham's; also a few words in possession of the present writer, communicated by Dr. Daniell.

4. The Ibo country; lists of the Niger vocabularies, and of Laird and Oldfield.

5. The old Calabar country; a short list in the *Mithridates*, and a vocabulary communicated to the present writer by Dr. Daniell.

6. A few Bonny words from the quarter last mentioned.

7. A Cameroon vocabulary, in MS., belonging to the Asiatic Society of London.

To these may be added some unfixed vocabularies of Mrs. Kilham's, and some lists of the numerals by Bowdich.

The provisional views of the present writer upon these groups are as follow:—

1. None of them stand wholly insulate. With no affinities that are visible on the surface, with few that appear when any one particular language is compared with another, they have a fundamental unity of origin, which is shewn either by comparing them with one another in groups, or by investigating their common relations with some third language.

2. That the line of demarcation between them and the Congo group of languages is less broad than the peculiar character of the languages of Southern Africa in general has led the majority of philologists to believe.

The Gaboon of M. Delaporte is the Empoong'wa of Bowdich, and the Rungo of Mrs. Kilham. This may be seen from the following tables of numerals. Herein, subordinate to the general question of the isolation or non-isolation of any African language, are exhibited such miscellaneous affinities as are to be collected from Mrs. Kilham's lists, and from the ordinary tabular vocabularies.

ish	...	one
ɔ ...	...	*neno*
onny	...	*ingah*
onny	...	*inga*
ish	...	two
ɔ ...	...	*ban*
ɔongwa	...	*mban*
onny	...	*may*
onny	...	*immeig*
o ...	...	*mbani*
...	...	*ebien*
ntee	...	*mienu*
...	...	*miu*
ish	...	three
o ...	...	*char*
ɔongwa	...	*ntcharoo*
onny	...	*tarah*
onny	...	*terre*
ɔo ...	...	*ntcharoo*
a ...	...	*terre*
ish	...	four
o ..	...	*nai*
ɔongwa	...	*nahee*
onny	...	*inne*
onny	...	*hene*
o ...	...	*nai*
longo, &c.	...	*nani*
ntee, &c.	...	*enain*
, &c.	...	*ine*
ı ...	...	*nai*
...	...	*ano*
ba ...	...	*ina*
apay	...	*ennay*
alabar	...	*enang*
ɔo ...	...	*enni*
...	...	*og-winne*
o ...	...	*banai*
ee ...	...	*binnay*
ish	...	five
o ...	...	*tan*

D. Bonny	...	*sono*
N. Bonny	...	*sonno*
Rungo ...	...	*otani*
Popo ...	...	*atong*
Fot ...	...	*tan*
Benin ...	...	*tang*
Karaba ...	...	*itien*
Kerrapay	...	*attong*
O. Calabar	...	*etune*
Calbra ...	...	*sonni*
Galla ...	...	*zan*
Bongo ...	...	*batan*
Kaylee ...	...	*bittan*
English ...	...	six
Pongo ...	...	*rouba*
Empoongwa	...	*orooba*
Rungo ...	...	*oruva*
English ...	...	seven
Pongo ...	...	*ragoulon*
Empoongwa	...	*ragginnoomo*
Rungo ...	...	*ruenu*
Kerrapay	...	*adrinne*
English ...	...	eight
Pongo ...	...	*enanai*
Empoongwa	...	*ennanakee*
N. Bonny	...	*innini*
Rungo ...	...	*enanani*
Akuonga	...	*enun*
Kerrapay	...	*ennee*
English ...	...	nine
Pongo ...	...	*nogoum*
Empoongwa	...	*enogoom*
Rungo ...	...	*enogum*
English ...	...	ten
Pongo ...	...	*igoum*
Empoongwa	...	*hegum*
Rungo ...	...	*gum*
Haussa ...	...	*guoma*
Kongo ...	...	*ekumi*

V. Vocabulaires Guiolof, Mandingue, Foule, Saracolé, Séraire, Bagnon, et Floupe.

These vocabularies are taken from an anonymous MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale, with the following title:—*Dictionnaire des Langues Françaises et Négres dont on se sert dans la concession de la Compagnie Royale du Sénégal; savoir, guiolof, foule, mandingo, saracolé, séraire, bagnon, floupe, papel, bizagots, nalous, et sapi.* This is followed by a statement, that *les Balantes, qui sont voisins du Bisaux, ont encore une langue particulière.* The four last lists seem to have been lost. They represented the languages between the river Cacheo and Sierra Leone, and were probably conterminous with the Bullom and Timmani. Had they been extant, they would have been unique.

The seven printed vocabularies represent seven languages, mutually unintelligible; how far the difference is radical and fundamental being a separate and a more complex question.

1. For the Guioloff, or Woloff, we have long had a fair amount of data in the grammar and vocabulary of Dard, and in other minor accessory vocabularies.

2. The Mandingo; we have the grammar of Macbriar, as well as isolated vocabularies by Park and others. Besides this, the Bambarra and Jallonka languages have long been dealt with as dialects of the Mandingo; whilst the Sokko and Soosoo tongues have been recognized as akin to it. This last doctrine the present writer would extend to the Bullom and Timmani. The Kossa, Pessa, Vei, and Mendi seem also to be Mandingo.

3. The Foulah is a language that has not been understood in proportion to its importance. Vater ascertained that the Foulah of Senegambia was the Fellatah of the interior of Africa. The physical difference of colour between the Foulah and the other Africans has been long insisted on. The vocabularies of Seetzen, Mollien, Barbot, Lyon, Clapperton, and Hodgson have been insufficient to give them their place in Ethnography. The present vocabulary trebles and quadruples all our previous data. It is convenient to consider the Foulah, Mandingo, and Woloff as the centres of three philological groups.

4, 5. Saracolet, Sereres.—Materials have been especially wanting for the position of these two languages. The Sereres words in the *Mithridates*, III. 1. 160, coincide with the Woloff;

a fact that is traversed by the circumstance of some of them being terms that languages borrow of each other. On the other hand, the Sereres vocabulary contains Foulah words. Respecting both the Saracolet and Sereres, I consider that the only safe assertion that can be made at present is, that they are not wholly isolate. To call them absolutely Mandingo, absolutely Foulah, or absolutely Woloff, is to assume definitude for those groups which has not yet been made out.

6. The Bagnon vocabulary is believed to be unique.

7. The Feloop is practically unique. Park gives the numerals only.

Each of these languages has miscellaneous affinities; the Feloop being Foulah and Woloff in a slight degree more than it is Mandingo.

VI. On the Languages and Dialects of Abyssinia and the Countries of the South. By Dr. Beke.

Dr. Beke's vocabularies have the merit of being full, convenient, and, comparatively speaking, unincumbered with commentary. They are thirteen in number. Taken along with those of Salt, Krapff, Isenberg, and Tutschek, they form a full mass of materials for the study of the difficult Ethnography of Abyssinia, a point of contact between Asia and Africa, and an area where the Semitic elements of the Æthiopian complicate all the investigations of the philologist. Copious as is Dr. Beke's list of the tongues spoken in the region of his travels, it is scanty compared with that of D'Abaddie. Dr. Beke considers, however, that his own collection is exhaustive of the distinct *languages*. Definite classification is at present premature. Provisionally, however, the following may be found convenient.

1. The Agow group, containing Dr. Beke's three first languages, the Waag Agau or Hhamara, the Falasha, and the Agau of Agaumider.

2. The Gafat language.

3. The Gonga, Kaffa, Woratta, Wolaitsa, and Yangaro languages. These represent a group of which a specimen is now published for the first time.

4. The Shankalla group, containing Dr. Beke's Shankalla,

and probably the Darmitchegan Shankalla, the Tacazze Shankalla of Salt, and the Qamamyl of Caillaud.

5. The Galla group.—Dr. Beke gives only the Galla of Gudera. It coincides with the Galla of Krapff, Isenberg, and Tutschek. The affinities between the Galla and Danakil languages seem overstated.

6. The Tigré group.—All the questions relating to this group are complicated by the elements common to the Tigré, Amharic, old Æthiopian, and Arabic.

The tendency to exaggerate the differences between the languages of Africa, especially where there is any departure from the physical or psychological characters of the typical negro, is at present so strong, that the writer appends the following incomplete tables to shew that the Abyssinian languages form no exception to the doctrine of a fundamental unity at the bottom of all the African languages.

English	...	Heaven	Bassa ...	...	*iuro*
Yangaro	...	*bidani*	Ako ...	...	*orung*
Guderu	...	*biftu-sun*	Kaffa ...	...	*ainehei*
Woloff	...	*bideu-star*	Takeli	...	*ani*
English	...	sun	Moko ...	...	*anai*
Gafat ...	...	*djember*	Timmani	...	*nei*
— ...	...	*tcheber*	Agaum. Sh.	...	*oka*
Bongo...	...	*diaba*	Guderu	...	*wak-heaven*
Guderu	...	*adu*	Denka	...	*akol*
Karaba	...	*adzhu*	Darmitchegan		*woka*
Agaumider, Ag.		*awa*	Tacazze	...	*wah'*
Gonga	...	*aba*	Appa ...	...	*uke*
Kaffa ...	...	*abo*	Bornu	...	*kau*
Woratta	...	*awa*	Gonga	...	*Yeko-god*
Wolaitsa	...	*awa*	Guderu	...	*Wak-god*
Yangaro	...	*auwa*	— ...	...	*Wakayou-god*
Ashantee	...	*ouia*	— ...	...	*Wak-heaven*
Fanti ...	...	*euia*	Tigre ...	...	*tsehai*
Popo ...	...	*ouei*	Kru ...	...	*tsho*
Ibu ...	...	*aua*	Bassa ...	...	*tsho*
Akuonga	...	*mo*	Tapua...	...	*etzoh*
Waag...	...	*kora*	*English*	...	moon
— ...	...	*kwora*	Guderu	...	*djiha*
Falasha	...	*kuara*	— ...	...	*djea*
Harrargie	...	*ihr*	Kru ...	...	*tsho*
Kru ...	...	*guiro*	Bassa ...	...	*tsho*

Appa ...	...	*oshia*
Tapua...	...	*etzoh*
Yangaro	...	*kita*
Fulah ...	...	*kode*
Kaffa ...	...	*ágino*
Woratta	...	*ágena*
Wolaitsa	...	*ágena*
Benin	...	*ngoun*
Bongo	...	*gounti*
Congo	...	*gonde*
Bornu	...	*guna-star*
Gongo	...	*keno-star*
Tigre	...	*wórkhe*
Harrargie	...	*wárhi*
Takeli	...	*oar*
Woloff	...	*ueer*
Ashantee	...	*surua-star*
Fanti	...	*urdua-star*
Darfur	...	*uri-star*
Gafat ...	...	*chereka*
— ...	...	*tserakit*
Falasha	...	*serka*
— ...	...	*serka*
Haussa	...	*sherata-star*
Waag...	...	*arba*
Agaum. Ag.	...	*arfa*
Shabun	...	*robah-star*
Fertit ...	...	*berabe-star*
English	...	water
Woratta	...	*hátsa*
Wolaitsa	...	*hátsa*
— ...	...	*hasa*
Ashantee	...	*insue*
Fanti	...	*insu*
Popo ...	...	*si*
Waag	...	*ákwa*
Falasha	...	*ágho*
— ...	...	*áhu*
Agaum. Ag.	...	*ágho*
— ...	...	*ahu*
Gafat ...	...	*éga*
Gonga	...	*átcho*
Kaffa ...	...	*hácho*

Kaffa ...	...	*ácho*
Yangaro	...	*ákka*
Agaum. Sh.	...	*áya*
Fertit...	...	*ongou*
Takeli	...	*eka*
Kossa	...	*nge*
Bornu	...	*ngi*
Takeli	...	*aou*
Tigre ...	...	*mai*
Harrargie	...	*mi, mey*
Ako ...	...	*omi*
Karaba	...	*mau*
Uhobo	...	*ami*
English		rain
Agaum. Ag.	...	*héri*
Woratta	...	*íra*
Wolaitsa	...	*íra*
Yangaro	...	*íro*
Darfur	...	*arah*
Koldagi	...	*areh*
English		river
Falasha	...	*kura*
Denka	...	*kir*
English		cloud
Harrargie	...	*dána*
Denka	...	*deon*
Waag	...	*dimna*
—	...	*dumna*
Falasha	...	*damana*
Gafat	...	*damanish*
Gonga	...	*dámno*
Tacazze	...	*dimma-rain*
English		hill
Guderu	...	*gára*
Fertit	...	*yarak*
Denka	...	*kur*
English		grass
Agaum. Ag.	...	*kiya*
Yangaro	...	*kua*
Tapua	...	*eguoh*
Agaum. Sh.	...	*gizigh*
Kouri	...	*kesi*
Gonga	...	*gusho-straw*

Gafat	...	*bul*
Timmani	...	*anepul*
English		tree
Falasha	...	*káni*
Agaum. Ag.	...	*káni*
Waag	...	*kana-wood*
Tapua	...	*inkunu*
Timmani	...	*kant*
Rungo	...	*kouni-wood*
English		forest
Woratta	...	*wora*
Darfur	...	*ara-wood*
Koldagi	...	*ori-wood*
Uhobo	...	*ori-wood*
Mandingo	...	*iri-tree*
Susu	...	*uri-tree*
Bambarra	...	*ziri-tree*
Kossa	...	*ziri-tree*
English		fire
Gonga	...	*támo*
Woratta	...	*támma*
Wolaitsa	...	*tamma*
Congo	...	*tubba*
Tigre	...	*kháuwe*
Fertit	...	*ouwe*
Agaum. Ag.	...	*áwi-light*
Guderu	...	*ibídda*
—	...	*yabid*
Takeli	...	*ebe*
Agaum. Sh.	...	*mángia*
Denka	...	*maid*
Shilluck	...	*maidg*
Yangaro	...	*gea*
Ashantee	...	*odzhea*
Fanti ...	...	*odzha*
English	...	head
Darfur	...	*tobu*
Kru	...	*dubo*
Waag...	...	*áur*
— ...	...	*awra*
Koldagi	...	*oar*
Shabun	...	*oru-hair*
Fulah ...	...	*hore*

Ako ...	...	*ori*
Gafat ...	...	*dámoa*
— ...	...	*demow*
Kaffa ...	...	*tommo*
Kroo ...	...	*dubo*
Timmani	...	*dabum*
Woratta	...	*kóówmo*
Wolaitsa	...	*kómmo*
Fertit ...	...	*kummu*
Mandingo	...	*kung*
Susu ...	...	*kunji*
Bambarra	...	*hung*
Kossa...	...	*ngui*
Pessa ...	...	*nkung*
Haussa	...	*kai*
Gonga	...	*tóko*
Denka	...	*tok-mouth*
Shilluk	...	*dok-mouth*
Darfur	...	*udo-mouth*
Fulah	...	*unduka-mouth*
Kaffa ...	...	*kello*
Darfur	..	*kuli-eye*
Koldagi	...	*kale-eye*
English	...	tongue
Agaum. Sh.	...	*kútta*
Koldagi	...	*giadu*
Gafat	...	*melásish*
—	...	*melasi*
Gaffa	...	*milaso*
Tigre	...	*melhas*
Berber	...	*iless*
Haussa	...	*halishi*
English		lip
Guderu	...	*hédhi*
—	...	*hidea*
Darfur	...	*udo-mouth*
Koldagi	...	*ghiadu-tongue*
English		mouth
Agaum. Ag.	...	*kámbe*
—	...	*kembi*
Woloff	...	*gemein*
Gonga	...	*nóno*
Kaffa	...	*nóno*

Woratta	...	*nóna*
Wolaitsa	...	*nóna*
Takeli	...	*nini-tooth*
Gafat	...	*simóta*
—	...	*semota*
Agaum. Sh.	...	*simá*
Darmitchegan		*surmma*
Waag	...	*miya*
—	...	*medje*
Falasha	...	*makya*
Tacazze	...	*má*
Berber	...	*imi*
Kissour	...	*mi*
Fertit	...	*amma*
Tapua	...	*emi*
Bassa	...	*mong*
English	...	head
Guderu	...	*matta mata*
—	...	*mata*
Danakil	...	*amoita*
Ashantee	...	*miti*
Fanti ...	...	*mitshi*
Sohili ...	...	*matcho-eye*
Quilimane	...	*meto-eye*
English	...	mouth
Falasha	...	*af*
Guderu	...	*afan*
—	...	*afuni*
Tigre	...	*af*
Harrargie	...	*af*
Coptic ...	...	*ap-head*
—	...	*afe-head*
English	...	tooth
Gafat	...	*sinna*
—	...	*sena*
Tigre ...	...	*sinni*
Harrargie	...	*sin*
Caffre ...	...	*izinyo*
English	...	face
Guderu...	...	*fula*
Bullom ..	...	*bul-head*
English	...	ear
Woratta	...	*áitsa*

Wolaitsa	...	*áitsa*
—	...	*ahissa*
Ashantee	...	*asu*
Fanti ...	...	*asu*
Uhobo...	...	*osa*
English	...	eye
Gudeni	...	*ídja*
—	...	*yadje*
Galla ..	...	*itsha*
Haussa	...	*idu*
—	...	*idame*
Gafat	...	*yéna*
—	...	*ein*
Tigre ...	...	*aini*
Harrargie	...	*ein*
— ...	...	*ayn*
Shelluk	...	*uang*
Ashantee	...	*eni*
Fanti ...	...	*eni*
Ibu ...	...	*ania*
Karaba	...	*unien*
Waag...	...	*yel*
—	...	*ele*
Falasha	...	*íle*
—	...	*ile*
Agaum. Ag.	...	*el*
—	...	*ele*
Fertit	...	*allak*
Kissi	...	*holleng*
V. Berber	...	*ollin*
English	...	beard
Waag	...	*khámma*
Tigre	...	*chékhemi*
Haussa	...	*gemeh*
Denka	...	*kummu-head*
English	...	neck
Waag	...	*kam*
—	...	*kame*
Falasha	...	*kom*
—	...	*nume*
Agaum. Ag.	...	*kumi*
Gonga	...	*kétto*
Kaffa	...	*kétto*

Woratta	...	*kode*	Guderu	...	*árka*
Wolaitsa	...	*kódea*	—	...	*kerke*
Darfur	...	*kui*	Harrargie	...	*hárak*
Shabun	...	*kodom*	Shabun	...	*rue*
English	...	hand	Takeli	...	*ora-hand*
Waag	...	*nen*	*English*	...	finger
Falasha	...	*nan*	Woratta	...	*birádda*
Takeli	...	*nin-arm*	Wolaitsa	...	*birádda*
English	...	arm	Haussa	...	*faruta*
Gafat	...	*kinda*	*English*	...	leg
Woratta	...	*géto*	Woratta	...	*gódea*
Shilluk	...	*kidda*	Wolaitsa	...	*gáddea*
Timmani	...	*kitoh-hand*	Koldagi	...	*rudda-foot*
Gonga	...	*hirro*			

VII. Recherches sur les Langues Celtiques. Par W. F. Edwards.

This work was laid before the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1831, obtained the Volney Prize in 1834, and was published in 1844. It is the work of an active investigator in physiology, of an able anatomist, and of an ethnographical philosopher, who, like Dr. Prichard of our own country, gave a due place in the range of his studies to comparative philology, to history, and to physical conformation, as the instruments in his anthropological or ethnological inquiries. His *Traité de l'Influence des Agens Physiques sur la Vie* has long been known as a standard work on physiology.

The present volume is any thing rather than the exposition of the writer's strongest parts; and it is only fair to suppose that such portions of it as lie most open to criticism would have been modified by the author himself if the work had received his own *imprimatur*, and had it taken at his own hand the form in which it was to be committed to the judgments of philologists. Instead of this, it is posthumous. Hence we shall confine ourselves to a single section of it; a section that exhibits the author's views concerning the structure and relations of the Basque language. Exclusive criticism of this portion is called for by the fact of the doctrines contained in it, which come under the three following categories:—

.) They are important, if correct.
:.) They are not correct—
:.) But are liable to be thought so.

[. W. Edwards grapples with the difficulties of the Basque ;uage. Without going so far as to make it absolutely ic, he considers that it is altered to those languages by *rapports importants—et par la grammaire et par les racines.* also allies it with the Latin and Greek.

'ow if there be one negative statement in philology which is e implicitly adopted, it is the negative statement concerning same mysterious language, viz. that it is *not* Indo-Euro-ı. It is one of the few languages of which the isolation has been overvalued.

/e open M. Edwards's book, haphazard, in that part of it :h deals with the glossarial affinities of the Basque. We that the ten first examples under the letter S are as ›ws:

Basque.	French.	Latin, &c.
Sobra	Trop	*Super*
Sobrania	Excès	Rac. Celt.
Soberamendua	Épargne	.....
Soberbia	Orgueil	*Superbia*
Superra	Fier	*Superbus*
Seculacoa	Perpétual	*Seculum*
Seculan	À jamais	Rac. Celt.
Seguida	Suite	.....
Seguiteca	Suivre	*Sequor*
Segur	Sûr	*Securus*

[ow it is evident that scores of words of this sort prove no-ıg in favour of the common origin of two languages; and we uld have thought that the author himself had put them at r bare worth, and had dealt with them as words borrowed ›ugh the Spanish from the Latin, if he had not devoted a ›nd and a separate table for this class.—See p. 533.

'he grammatical evidence is equally loose with the glossarial. ıs:—

. There is no indefinite article in Basque. There is none in lsh or Gælic.

:. The Basque definite article is *a, e, ac, ec.* The Gælic is *an.* The *-c* in the Latin *hi-c* is the *-c* in the Basque , *e-c.*

3. The Basque article coalesces with the noun. In the French expression *je l'aime* the article coalesces also.

4. The Basque article follows the noun. The Celtic article precedes the noun—*Quant à la place qu'occupe l'article en Basque, il ne change pas de nature pour être à la fin au lieu du commencement; à la vérité, il a une place différente dans les langues Bretonnes et Gaëles, mais il faut bien que les langues diffèrent en quelque chose, quelque similitude qu'il y ait entre elles.* On the other hand, more than one Indo-European tongue presents the phenomenon of a positive article.

5. The Basque equivalent to the French preposition *de* is *az*, and *en*. These are the Gælic *as* and *en;* and also the Greek -ος and ων, as in πάτερ-ος, πατέρ-ων.

6. The Basque equivalent to the French *à* is *i*.

7. The Basque prepositions *ie, e, an, at, kin, co,* correspond with *ex, e, in, ad, cum, go* (Gælic), respectively.

8. The prepositions *always* follow the noun in Basque. The prepositions *sometimes* follow the noun in Latin,—*tecum*, &c.

9. Certain euphonic changes occur in Basque on the one side, and in Celtic, Latin, and Greek, on the other.

10. The Basque pronouns have certain affinities, of which the correspondence between *çuec* in Basque and *c'houc* in Breton (= *you*), is a fair specimen.

11. The possessive pronouns in Basque are formed from the personal. So they are in Greek, Latin, and Celtic. So (it might be added) they are in ninety-nine languages out of a hundred.

12. The verb is despatched in three pages; one of which contains the following curious excuse for points of resemblance:—*J'ai assez fait connaitre la nature de ce verbe en parlant des autres langues celtiques. Je n'ai pas e loisir de devéllopper ici ce sujet qui, d'ailleurs, aurait un grand intérêt: mais la longeur de ce travail, par la multiplicité infinie des objets à traiter, rend la chose* physiquement *impossible. Ce ne sont donc pas les difficultés du sujet qui m'arrêtent, comme on peut en juger par ce qu'a déjà été fait.* The adage, *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem habenda est ratio,* may hold good here.

13. *Adverbs.*—We give the whole of the author's remarks upon this class of words: *L'adverbe est en Basque ce qu'il est dans les autres langues* celtiques, *un nom avec une préposition.*

14. *Conjunction.*—We give the author in full: *De la conjonction je dirai seulement que les principales sont:*

En Basque.	En Latin.
eta,	et.
edo,	aut.

Reasoning, of which the preceding is a sample, is not the reasoning by which positions in ethnology are established.

VIII. Introduction to a Grammar of the Language of Burmah. By Thomas Latter.

Some years ago a prize was proposed by one of the societies on the continent for an examination into the influence of writing upon speech; and Schliemacher, who was the successful candidate, produced a work which has the merit of being nearly the last that discusses the question inductively. He compared the grammatical tongues of the Burmese and the Chinese; the latter a language where the influences of a very peculiar notation have been at work for a great number of years; the former, comparatively speaking, an unwritten language. The conclusion aimed at was the slight influence of writing upon the fixation of speech.

Other and higher problems will yet be investigated through the monosyllabic languages; *e.g.* the evolution of inflections out of composition, and of compounds out of separate words.

Lieutenant Latter's Introduction promises many of the elements required in a text-book for these purposes. He adds to a clear perception of the difference between a monosyllabic language like the Burmese, and inflectional languages like those of Europe, an equally clear perception that this difference is limited by the general conditions of the human mind. He has sufficient logic to place grammatical peculiarities in a point of view sufficiently general and elevated; he has good common-sense in comparative philology, and possibly a greater knowledge of its details than he chooses to exhibit. The Introduction itself has much that suggests, and much that will bear reflecting on.

The weak points of Lieutenant Latter are confined to a few pages. They form the excrescences that have been alluded to:—
πλέον ἥμισυ πάντος.

Rising into the higher latitudes of etymology, the author believes in an original intercourse between Ava and Egypt; and he believes it for the following reasons:—

1. The word *Bhòòra* pronounced *Phra* is the usual Burmese term of compellation by which an inferior addresses a superior. It implies any object of reverence or respect. The word *præ*, or *phræ* is Egyptian for *the sun*, the prefix *pi* being the masculine article. Here the etymology becomes probable. But the sense of *sun* is only a secondary sense in the Egyptian; its original meaning being *royalty* or *kingliness*. Here the etymology runs on all fours.

2. *Boodha*—meaning *Buddha*, the Divinity. Its original meaning is *powerful, supporter*. Hence it gives a name to the Egyptian god *Phtha*, and appears in the *Pali* Vris-*pata*, the *planet Jupiter* or the *Lord of Taurus*—in the Hebrew *Japhat, Lord of Ja*, or the *Earth*. This is also the—*Pot*—in the Greek δεσ-ποτ-ης—and the Egyptian *Poti-phar*. We congratulate the Latin word *pot-is* from having escaped the impressment.

3. *H. W. R. E.* Here the *w* is pronounced *o*. The combined sounds give a Burmese term for any thing connected with royalty and royal persons. In the general acceptation of the word, it implies *golden*. Its connection with the Egyptian *Hor, Horus*, or *Sun* is evident. The Hebrew *aur, light*, and the Latin *aurum, gold*, exhibit the same root. So does the Coptic *ou-ro—a king*. Herein, however, *ou* is the indefinite article.

4. The letter *d* is especially honoured. It is called the *sacred* dental. Mr. Latter finds reason for this in the fact of its forming a component part of the Deity in *every* language; whether initial as in the Greek Θεος, *Deus*, or medial as the Persian *Khooda*, the Pali *Bhooda*, the Burmese *Godama*, and the Teutonic *Woden*. It is final in the Saxon, *Gott*, and *God*. It composes the term *dau*, an honorific increment of the Burmese. It is certainly the component of a very different epithet in English, equally theological but less complimentary.

R. G. L.

XXXVII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

THE TWO MODELS OF THE PARTHENON, AND THE REMARKS UPON THEM. By R. C. Lucas, Sculptor. Salisbury, 1845.

THE two models of the Parthenon described by Mr. Lucas in the pamphlet before us are at present in the Elgin Room at the British Museum, and have been purchased by the trustees of the Museum for exhibition there. In one, a restoration of the temple is given, in the other, its ruined aspect. They are on a large scale, being twelve feet in length by six in width; the metopes, frieze, and pedimental sculptures are modelled with the greatest care, and according to the original depth of projection. In restoring the groups and figures which we have lost from the original design, Mr. Lucas has shewn at once sobriety of judgment and happiness of invention. For the composition of the two pediments his authorities were, the statues preserved in the Elgin Room and at Athens, the drawings made by Carrey just before the destruction of the Parthenon in the siege of Athens in 1687, the brief remarks of Pausanias and subsequent travellers, and the comments and conjectures of archæologists. Out of these materials, Mr. Lucas has formed an eclectic restoration, supplying the missing groups by the aid of modern conjecture, and adopting whatever seemed most consonant to the character of the original design. In this selection he has necessarily been guided rather by æsthetic feeling, and by the study of the existing remains than by the learned and ingenious arguments of archæologists. Without attempting to reconcile the successive theories of restoration proposed by Visconti, Cockerell, Bröndstedt, Gerhard, and Welcker, he has borrowed boldly from them groups and figures as he thought proper. He felt that his education as a sculptor did not qualify him to decide upon questions requiring for their solution profound research and long-trained archæological judgment; he knew that in the execution of such a task as his, it was hardly possible for a modern artist to avoid violating the known or presumed affinities of ancient mythology, and he has, therefore, at the risk of sacrificing unity of myth, sought, in the arrangement of his figures, to secure unity of design and harmony of effect.

In the eastern pediment he has followed M. Welcker in rejecting the restoration advocated by M. Gerhard and others, who suppose the birth

of Pallas to have been represented, as upon fictile vases, by a diminutive figure just issued from the head of Zeus. Such a design, of the effect of which we have an opportunity of judging in the similar restoration made by M. Quatremère de Quincy, Mr. Lucas justly considers unworthy of the genius of Phidias, and quotes the authority of Flaxman, who supposed the composition to have been filled, "not by a representation of the actual birth of Minerva, but rather by the introduction of the goddess to the august assemblage of the gods on Olympus,—a subject in the highest degree imposing, and admitting of a sculptural treatment of the greatest majesty." Mr. Lucas has accordingly represented, not the moment of birth, but the moment after that event. Pallas, of equal height with the other deities, stands by the side of Zeus; and the figure of Hephæstos leaning on his axe suggests the foregone conclusion of the well-known myth.

In the restoration of the composition of the western pediment, Mr. Lucas has been very successful. In Carrey's drawing, nearly all the original design is given, the only vacant space being between the central figure of Poseidon and the figure seated in a car on his left. M. Welcker has shewn, with every appearance of probability, that this figure is Amphitrite, and that to her car were attached two Hippocamps, which filled the space vacant in Carrey's drawing, and thus balanced the group of the car of Pallas on the other side. It remained for Mr. Lucas to embody M. Welcker's idea, and to demonstrate to the eye how admirably this restored group harmonizes with the rest of the composition. In the design of these Hippocamps, he has shewn both invention and knowledge of the antique. Looking at the whole motive of the design of this pediment, Mr. Lucas thinks that it was not the actual contest between Poseidon and Pallas, but its result, the victory of the goddess, which was represented by the central group; as in the eastern pediment, not the birth, but the moment after the birth, was chosen by Phidias as fitter for sculpturesque composition. We have noticed two or three of the chief points in this restoration, in which former artists and archæologists have failed, and in which Mr. Lucas has been, we think, more successful, partly because he has had for his guidance the suggestions of all that have preceded him in this task, but still more, because he has throughout steadily kept in view the method of inquiry advocated by M. Welcker, an analysis of the principles of design in the art of Phidias. (See Welcker's Treatise, *Classical Museum*, vol. II. p. 367, foll.) Our space will not here permit us to enter into a critical examination of the whole of this restoration, or to do justice to the many difficulties which Mr. Lucas had to deal with, and which he enumerates under the following heads:—1. The architectural restoration of the interior; 2. The missing me-

topes; 3. The parts that are deficient in the frieze of the cella; 4. The devices on the shields; and lastly, The polychromatic adjuncts to the temple. With regard to the first of these points, we think that the Doric order, where Mr. Lucas has used the Ionic in the lower tier of columns, and the Ionic where he has used the Corinthian in the upper, would have produced an effect more in conformity with the whole character of the architecture; and this opinion coincides with that of M. de Laborde, and seems borne out by the facts stated in the letter from M. Pittakys, given in Mr. Lucas's pamphlet. In restoring the metopes, thirteen, of which there were no vestiges either on the building itself, or in the drawings of Carrey, have been supplied by designs suggested from Attic myths; the subjects are selected with excellent judgment, and happily adapted from ancient works of art by Mr. Lucas.

In the polychrome and metallic decorations of the Parthenon he has not been so successful. Conscious of the difficulty of such restoration, he has attempted but little, but that little rather impairs the harmony of his work. We do not like the blue tint he has chosen as the backgrounds on which the figures are relieved; still less do we like the gold shields; the devices on them are coarse, and destitute of the character of the antique; the shields themselves do not hang loosely on the wall, but project as if they were portions of the masonry, studding the surface with unmeaning ornament. Nor again do we like the splendid decorations of the figure in the interior which represents the Chryselephantine statue of the goddess. The glitter of her ægis and robe was no doubt subdued in the original building by the general tone of colouring of the architecture, but contrasted as it is in Mr. Lucas's model with cold white surfaces, it disturbs the eye and has a modern and theatrical effect.

In the execution of the several groups and statues in these two models there is evidence of an earnest study, and real appreciation of the art of Phidias; with the most unwearied diligence Mr. Lucas has sought out in existing monuments of antiquity authority for the type of every figure and accessory, while in the selection and recombination of these materials he has shewn great discrimination and ingenuity. We congratulate him on the very successful and speedy termination of his arduous task, and we are glad to see such a monument of his industry placed in the Elgin Room at the British Museum in immediate juxtaposition with those precious fragments which it so ably interprets and illustrates.

Of the value of such models as a means of public instruction too much cannot be said. Not only does the work of Mr. Lucas teach us to appreciate more highly the sculpture of the Elgin Room, by shewing

that, while singly and severally admirable as works of art, they must ever be regarded as but the portions of one great whole; but from this restoration we learn more clearly than from any definition of criticism the true province and function of Greek sculpture, its intimate and necessary connection with architecture, and the manner in which both were subservient to the expression of one great idea pervading the whole design.

In the sculpture of the Parthenon was represented all that was most sacred and most glorious in the eyes of the Athenian citizens,—in the pediments the forms of their indigenous Deities,—in the metopes every passage in the mythic history of their land,—in the procession of the frieze the image of their actual life and the majestic presence of a nation met for worship. In the work of Mr. Lucas this whole design is visibly demonstrated. While contemplating it we are more than ever reminded of a great truth unrecognized in the academic systems of this country, that monuments like the Parthenon, full of meaning and suggestion to the ancients themselves, may to us too, when rightly viewed, become the instrument of emphatic and familiar teaching; that the study of Greek art is collateral to that of Greek literature, and should be associated with it in a true scheme of classical education; that the scholar and the archæologist work out one common result, one interpreting the thought of antiquity as expressed in written language, the other, as it is expressed in the language of ancient art.

C. N.

ARISTOPHANIS ACHARNENSES. Recensuit et interpretatus est F. H. Blaydes. London, 1845. 8vo. (Nutt.)

EDITIONS of the classics, with any pretensions to be called critical, are so rare in this country, in comparison of our vast educational establishments, that it is a pleasing task to record their publication. The present work does credit to Mr. Blaydes's scholarship, and the notes are written, or selected, with considerable judgment. They are also kept within reasonable bounds; for which, perhaps, we are indebted to their being written in Latin. The argument commonly urged in favour of English notes,—namely, that our mother tongue more nearly approaches the Greek idiom than Latin does, we conceive to be of little weight; since, where the force of a Greek phrase requires to be illustrated by a parallel one in English, the Latin annotator is always at liberty to give it.

Mr. Blaydes has made Dindorf's text the foundation of his own; but with several alterations, either on the authority of Codices, or,

nection of art with all the affairs of ordinary life: every house is ingeniously and tastefully arranged, every wall is adorned by some painter's hand, and every utensil combines beauty and originality of form with usefulness. But *non cuivis licet adire Corinthum*, and what is the use of only once beholding those treasures? Every one must feel a desire frequently to enjoy such an aspect, and to delight his eye and form his mind by repeated contemplation. We are therefore greatly indebted to the men, who, by their industry and skill, have multiplied those remnants of ancient art, so as to enable many of us to behold them in imitations which are as faithful as possible to the originals.

For a long time people were obliged to be satisfied with imperfect outlines on a reduced scale of the paintings on the walls of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and it is only in our own days that the advanced development of the lithographic art and the invention of printing in colours have rendered it possible to produce those paintings in their original size, or at least in a size very near that of the originals, and with their peculiar brilliancy of colour, at so moderate a price that even those persons who have but limited means may become possessed of faithful copies, or, more properly, of facsimiles.

We have here to give a brief account of a work which is executed with the greatest diligence and accuracy, and which contains imitations of the paintings at Herculaneum and Pompeii, from the drawings of M. Ternite, a work which we should like to see most extensively circulated, for the honour of ancient art, as well as for the good of the arts among ourselves. M. Ternite, who at present holds the office of inspector of the Royal Picture Gallery at Potsdam, is himself a distinguished historical and portrait painter. A love for his art led him, in 1824, to Italy. At Naples he devoted himself with astonishing diligence to copying those ancient paintings which are as wonderful for their invention as for their drawing. Whoever makes a faithful and skilful copy of a painting must himself be a skilful artist; but it rarely happens that such an artist sacrifices his own creative powers to a faithful imitation of the works of others. However, M. Ternite has done so, and in addition he enjoyed the singular good fortune of being allowed to make *tracings* from the original paintings. On his return he brought with him the fruits of his labours, consisting of a large number of the most accurate copies in colours, and a still greater number of exact outlines, in which the *heads*, and sometimes other parts also, were carefully finished; and he immediately set about lithographing his drawings himself and conducting the printing in colours.

Goethe saw these coloured imitations and drawings, and let any one read with what admiration he expresses himself upon these

treasures of art. "We consider," he says[1], "the whole collection of these coloured imitations and drawings of ancient paintings to be a great treasure in many respects; their extensive circulation, especially among those admirers of the arts who have not visited Italy themselves, must create a higher notion of the paintings of the ancients than it is possible to derive from engravings. A wrong conception is not found in any one of these paintings: a pure taste and a lovely and naïve gracefulness prevails throughout; they breathe the mild spirit of a better age and a better art."

We greatly regret that the publication of these imitations has been so long delayed by the numerous engagements of the German artist, and by other obstacles. It was not till the year 1839 that the first part of these mural paintings was published, which was soon followed by the second and third parts. But the great undertaking was stopped on account of some misunderstanding between the artist and the publisher, G. Reimer, of Berlin, and it was not till the year 1845 that M. Ternite was able to publish the first part of a *new series*, and to promise a rapid progress of the work until its completion. Each part consists of one facsimile in colours, and seven lithographic drawings, in which the heads only are given in a finished state, and is sold to subscribers at the moderate price of twenty-three shillings. "A wide circulation," says Goethe[2], "of these and similar works is of the highest importance for the good cause, and we might almost say for the true faith, in art and taste." We therefore heartily recommend M. Ternite's mural paintings to all lovers of art; their moderate price facilitates their general circulation, and we rejoice to hear that the undertaking is supported, not only by her Majesty Queen Victoria and her illustrious consort, but by a considerable number of patrons of art in this country.

Before we describe the paintings contained in the first part of the *new series*, we must remove an error under which we ourselves were labouring at first. We were informed that M. Ternite had made his tracings at Portici in the year 1824, and saw that other similar works had since been published, especially Zahn's *Les plus beaux Ornémens et les Tableaux les plus remarquables d'Herculanum et de Pompei*, Berlin, 1828, 1829, ten parts, containing one hundred leaves. It would seem, therefore, as if M. Ternite's work has appeared much too late, and were superfluous, since other works give the same representations. This was our opinion, and others may have the same; but a comparison of the works which we have instituted makes us think

[1] *Kunst und Alterthum*, vol. VI. part 1, p. 173.

[2] *Kunst und Alterthum*, *l. c.*, p. 178.

differently. M. Zahn's collection contains only few real paintings; his principal object is to give representations of the entire walls, to shew their elegant framings and divisions into compartments, and the embellishments of household articles, such as candelabra; whereas M. Ternite's only object is to give the real paintings, and in this respect his work is obviously far superior to the other. We find that only two of the representations in Zahn's collection are to be found also in Ternite's work, viz. the *concert* in Zahn, tab. 78, is to be found in Ternite, tab. 8 (of the first part of the earlier series); and the fight of two satyrs with two rams in Zahn, tab. 54, and in Ternite, tab. 8 (of the second part of the earlier series). But what a difference! The eyes of the flute-player in the concert, as represented by Ternite, are projecting; his face is swollen by the exertion of playing the double flute; and he appears angry at the female playing the cithara out of time, which he is beating with his foot: he is dressed in the richly embroidered garment of the thymelici, which is scarcely to be perceived in Zahn's outline. The fight with the rams is only half given by Zahn, the second satyr and ram being omitted: and how faulty is the head of the satyr! In Zahn's representation he is a set old man, and in reality has a human face resembling that of a ram, and saddled with a bony nose. Other suggestive parts of the drawing are entirely neglected in Zahn's representation.

If, therefore, the future parts of the new work of Ternite should contain any more representations already contained in Zahn's collection, it can only be an advantage to the lover of art on account of the superiority, completeness, and excellence of Ternite's drawings; in addition to which the heads in Ternite's outlines are invariably worked out with great finish.

The present first part of the new series contains the following representations:—

1. A facsimile in colours, representing a pensive maiden, who, holding a pencil in her hand, is about to write; it is a half-figure, extremely pleasing, and an exquisite decoration for a room.

2. A similar subject, representing two maidens, the one of whom is on the point of writing on a diptychon, but still meditating how or what to write, holding the pencil to her chin; the other is looking over her shoulder. Both are half-figures, and their curly heads are carefully shaded.

3. Three half-figures: a satyr with a patera, and two heads of young girls.

4. A young woman sitting by her couch, and an older woman standing sidewards is speaking to her in an animated manner; she is probably urging the suit of some lover who is not favoured by the young

lady, for she turns away her face with indifference. They are full figures.

5. A servant in a hurry, bearing on his shoulder a vessel probably containing wine, and being accosted, he turns his head, but without stopping; it is a full figure. Further, a half-figure of a woman with a dish of fruit.

6. Two half-figures: a female servant with a dish of fruit for a Bacchic sacrifice, and a noble maiden with a mournful expression.

7. A half-figure of a maiden who is bending her head, adorned with a wreath of ivy, mournfully and pensively to the ground; she resembles Cassandra, in the group of Apollo and Cassandra.

8. An expressive group of full figures: a young woman offering her breast to her aged father is standing, and he has with difficulty raised himself from his couch—a representation of what is called *pietas Romana*. The learned commentator, Professor Welcker, calls the figures Pero and Cimon, according to the story in Valerius Maximus (v. 4); according to Hyginus, the mythographer, they would be Xanthippe and Mycon. But it is an interesting fact, that Valerius Maximus states that this subject was frequently painted, and in such a manner that the beholder might fancy he saw in the mute features living and breathing bodies. The present representation is as yet the only one of the kind that has come down to us from antiquity.

C. G. Z.

SELECT LIVES OF PLUTARCH. Translated by George Long. Series 1st and 2nd. Knight's Weekly Volume, Nos. XXVII. and LVIII.

IN these and the forthcoming numbers of the series, Professor Long proposes to give a new translation of such of Plutarch's Biographies as are connected with the civil wars of Rome, beginning with the Gracchi, and ending with the establishment of the empire. No portion of ancient history is more interesting than this, nor more fertile in great and extraordinary characters, which afford materials for some of Plutarch's most attractive Lives. Mr. Long has conferred a real benefit on the English reader by thus putting them together in a connected series, which forms an indispensable supplement to the history of those eventful times. The manner in which the translation is executed demands the highest praise. It is close and accurate at the same time that the English idiom is preserved; and the style will be found much more precise and vigorous than that of the version by the Langhornes. But what give the book its chief value are Mr. Long's notes, which are equally learned and judicious. Not only will

more frequently, from his own conjectures. To the former mode of emendation, when judiciously used, there can of course be no objection; but the latter is treading on dangerous ground, and has been rather too frequently resorted to by Mr. Blaydes. Not that we partake of the mania which has recently possessed some editors, as Klausen, of retaining, and, save the mark, construing too, whatever may be found in MSS., whether it be Greek or not. But, where texts are manifestly corrupt, we should prefer the oldfashioned method of *obelizing;* the editor at the same time giving the various MS. readings, together with his own conjectures, or those of others, *in his notes.* The more obvious and certain emendations have, for the most part, been already forestalled by critics whose equals we should now look for in vain, and who have left but a doubtful harvest to be gleaned by their successors. The emendations of a Valckenaer, a Bentley, or a Porson, for the most part strike conviction at once into the mind; but, in cases not so clear, we have observed that scholars generally prefer their own conjectures. Mr. Blaydes's own book might furnish us with examples; as, for instance, at v. 612, where, though he entirely approves of Reiske's conjecture, he does not promote it into the text, as he does his own. Some of Mr. B.'s emendations are too violent and too improbable to deserve a place in the text. For example, the common reading of v. 347 is obviously wrong; yet Mr. B.'s emendation, *ἐμέλλετ' ἀρ' ἀνήσειν ἅπαντες τῆς βοῆς*, is too slashing to take its place unceremoniously in the text, though we should not have objected to see it in a note. But that at v. 1093 is so improbable, as well as violent, that it is not deserving of even the latter distinction. In the editions the line runs:

ὀρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἁρμοδίου, καλαί.

Of which Brunck's explanation is sufficiently probable. Mr. B.'s text, however, runs on conjecture as follows:

ὀρχηστρίδες, τὸ "Φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδι'" ᾄδεται.

"*i. e.* Harmodii scolium canitur." But surely a moment's reflection would have shewn that such an emendation is contrary to the whole tenour of the passage. The messenger comes to announce to Dicæopolis that dinner is waiting for him—*δειπνεῖν κατακωλύεις πάλαι* (v. 1088). But the *Scolium* of Harmodius was an after-dinner song, and Dicæopolis would have had little chance of enjoying all the good things that were awaiting him, had he not been summoned till it was singing. A similar want of attention to the meaning of the context, though unaccompanied with any emendation, is shewn at v. 111; where Mr. Blaydes, in company indeed with Schütz and Elmsley, construes *πρὸς τουτονί, coram illo,* scil. *legato;* although Dicæopolis has told the ambassador, as plainly as he can speak, to go about his business:

ἀλλ' ἄπιθ'· ἐγὼ δὲ βασανιῶ τοῦτον μόνος.

Dindorf is completely right in his view of this passage. Nor are we better contented with Mr. B.'s adoption in v. 256, of Elmsley's conjecture, ἥττους for ἧττον. It appears to us to make nonsense, for we do not see how γαλᾶς can be construed *puellas*. Though Bergler and Brunck have not succeeded in restoring the passage to our liking, they had nevertheless a correct view of what the poet meant.

In one or two instances, again, Mr. B. has followed Dindorf's text too implicitly, as at v. 68; though he acknowledges in his note the harshness of the construction παρὰ Καΰστριον πεδίον: which, as he remarks, rather conveys the notion of *coasting along*, as by a river, than of travelling *through* a plain. We do not see much force in Dindorf's objection to the plural πεδίων, and should prefer retaining the common reading διὰ for παρά, though the author possibly wrote πέρα.

We think that Mr. Blaydes has done quite right in not mutilating his text in compliance with a prudish nicety; but whether in his explanations of certain passages he has not occasionally overstepped the necessary bounds (as, for example, at v. 158), is a piece of casuistry which we must leave to be discussed by those engaged in the task of education.

Ternite's Fac-similes of the Paintings on the Walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

(Wandgemaelde aus Pompeji und Herculanum. Nach den Zeichnungen und Nachbildungen in Farben von Wilh. Ternite, mit einem erläuternden Text—Deutsch, Französisch, und Englisch—von Professor Welcker in Bonn. Heft I. der neuen Folge. Berlin, 1845. Largest folio.)

Herculaneum and Pompeii are still inexhaustible mines of ancient art. All that has been disentombed from that memorable soil, and still continues to be disentombed every day, proves this one thing, that in antiquity, the fine arts were interwoven with ordinary life, and the common handicrafts, in a manner which is wholly inconceivable to us. Modern times surpass antiquity in industrial and technical skill, but the art of drawing, and the plastic arts in antiquity, were freer, greater, and far more extensively spread; they formed an integral part of the life of the ancients, whose whole existence was based upon them, and their religion and customs were inseparably connected with them. Pompeii was only a country town of middle Italy, but it does not contain a single house that does not afford evidence of this singular con-

the merely English reader here gain that information without which the text would be frequently unintelligible to him, but even the scholar will find many points briefly, but ably discussed, or opportunely recalled to his remembrance. We may advert particularly to the note on the different classes of the Roman people, in the life of Tiberius Gracchus, Chapter 10; the view of the policy of the Gracchi at the end of the life of Caius; and to the critical remarks and summaries of character given at the close of each biography. In a word, Mr. Long's book will be found not only a most interesting, but a most useful one by the class of readers for whom it is intended.

XXXVIII.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

AKERMAN, J. Y., Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes. No. 5, Gallia-Divona to Lugdunum Copia. London, 1845. 8vo.

Alford, Rev. H., Passages in Prose and Verse, from English Authors, for translation into Greek and Latin; together with selected passages from Greek and Latin authors for translation into English: forming a regular course of exercises in classical composition. Cambridge, 1845. 8vo.

Aristophanis Acharnenses. Recensuit et interpretatus est F. H. Blaydes. London, 1845. 8vo.

Bopp, Fr., Comparative Grammar of the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Slavonic languages. From the German, by Lieutenant Eastwick. Conducted through the press by Prof. H. H. Wilson. London, 1845. 8vo.

British Museum Marbles. Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, with engravings. Part 10. London, 1845. 4to.

Clinton, H. F., Fasti Romani: the civil and literary chronology of Rome and Constantinople, from the death of Augustus to the death of Justin II. Vol. I., tables. Oxford, 1845. 4to.

Eclogae Ciceronianae, being a selection from the Orations, Epistles, and Philosophical Dialogues of Cicero. To which are added selected letters of the younger Pliny. Edited, with an English preface and a few Latin notes, by Professor Pillans. Edinburgh, 1845. 12mo.

English Hexapla; consisting of the six important vernacular English translations of the New Testament Scriptures: namely, A.D. 1380, Wicliff's; 1534, Tyndale's; 1539, Cranmer's; 1557, Geneva; 1582, Rheims; 1611, the present authorized version; exhibited on each opening of the volume, arranged in parallel columns under the Greek original. Preceded by an elaborate account of the translations and translators. Parts 1, 2, 3. Royal 4to.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry, chiefly from the text of Dr. Simson, with explanatory notes, &c. and a brief outline of the history of geometry. By Robert Potts. Cambridge, 1845. 8vo.

Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament; translated with additions and corrections from the Author's Thesaurus, and other sources. By S. P. Tregelles. Parts 1, 2, 3. Small 4to.

Graham, G. F., English Synonymes classified and explained, with practical exercises; designed for schools and private tuition. London, 1846. 12mo.

Halliwell, J. O., Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, &c. &c. Part 6. (Dru.—Ful.) 8vo.

Henry, James, M.D., The Eneis of Virgil, books I. and II., rendered into English blank iambic, with interpretations and illustrations. London, 1845. 8vo.

Jelf, W. E., A Grammar of the Greek Language, chiefly from the German of Raphael Kühner. Part I., Accidence. Oxford, 1845. 8vo.

Justini, S., Philosophi et Martyris, Apologia Prima. Edited, with a corrected text and English introduction and notes, by the Rev. W. Trollope, M.A. Cambridge, 1845. 8vo.

Kühner, Dr. R., Elementary Grammar of the Latin language, with a series of exercises, &c. Translated from the German, by J. T. Champlin. Boston, U.S., 1845. 12mo.

Latter, Thomas, Introduction to a Grammar of the Language of Burmah. Calcutta, 1845. 4to.

Lucas, R. C., Remarks on the Parthenon, &c. London and Salisbury, 1845.

Phillips, Rev. G., The Elements of Syriac Grammar. Second edition, with amendments and additions. Cambridge, 1845. 8vo.

Sallustius, C. Crispus, The History of the Conspiracy of Catiline, and of the Jugurthine War. Translated by E. Peacock. London, 1845. 8vo.

Smith, Dr. W., Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Part 14, or vol. II., part 5. London, 1846. 8vo.

Sophocles, E. A., A Catalogue of Greek Verbs, for the use of colleges. Hartford, U.S., 1845. Post 8vo.

Stratton, Thomas, M.D., The Derivation of many Classical Proper Names from the Gælic language, or the Celtic of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1845. 12mo.

Virgil: The Æneid, with English notes, critical and explanatory, a metrical clavis, and an historical, geographical, and mythological index. By Chas. Anthon, LL.D. New York, 1845. 12mo.

Virgilii Opera, cum adnotationibus Heynii, Wagneri, Wunderlichii, Forbigeri, aliorum. Edidit Thos. Kerchever Arnold, A.M. Vol. II. London, 1845. 8vo.

Webster, N., Dictionary of the English Language. New edition, to which is prefixed an introductory dissertation on the origin, history, and connection of the languages of Western Asia and Europe, with an explanation of the principle on which languages are formed. Two vols. Springfield, U.S., 1845. Imp. 8vo.

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